CORPUS OF INDIAN COINS

Vol. IV

COINAGE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

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Vol IV

THE COINAGE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

AND ITS IMITATIONS.

(*With* 29 *Plates*)

By

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Other Books by the same Author

1. Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar; reprinted from the Indian Antiquary, 1924-6; out of print.
2. History of the Village Communities in Western India; Oxford University Press, out of print.
3. Education in Ancient India; 5th Edition; 1956; Nand Kishore Brothers, Chouk, Banaras. Rs. 5/-
4. Prāchīna Bhāratīya Shikshā Paddhati; (in Hindi); 1955; Nand Kishore Bros., Chowk, Banaras. Rs. 5/-
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15. Prāchīna Bhāratīya Śāsana-paddhati; Hindi version of the first edition of the State and Government in Ancient India; Leader Press, Allahabad; 1949. Rs. 5/-
16. Sources of Hindu Dharma; 1953; D.A.V. College, Sholapur. Rs. 2/-
17. The Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard; 1954; Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University. Rs. 60/-
18. Gupta-Kālīn Mudrāeṇ (in Hindi) Rashtrabhasha-Parishad, Patna 3, 1954; Hindi version of the Coinage of the Gupta Empire, but with two Appendices lacking. Rs. 9/8-

PREFACE

The Numismatic Society of India has great pleasure in offering to the world of scholars this Corpus on the Coinage of the Gupta Empire.

The need for a series of Corpuses of Indian Coins, covering their history from the earliest times to the present day, has been keenly felt for some years. There is a dearth of books for study and reference in the field of Indian Numismatics at present. The Catalogues of Indian Coins in the British Museum, London, of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Punjab Museum, Lahore, the Provincial (now State) Museum, Lucknow, and Cunningham's Monographs on the Coins of Ancient India, Medieval India, the Indo-Scythians, and the Later Indo-Scythians are out of print for a long time. Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Chronicle, Numismatic Supplements, etc. where some other studies on Indian Coins had been published, are not easily procurable. Further, though the above publications are good, they have become out of date long ago owing to the publication of fresh and important material during the last fifty years or so. Time has now come, not for the publication of revised editions of the above works and studies, but of the Corpuses of Coins of the different periods and dynasties, which will take a stock of the published works, utilise all the material in the different Museums in India and abroad, take note of the later discoveries of important coins and sum up our knowledge of the subject, correcting views no longer tenable and emphasining new and important aspects, disclosed by fresh discoveries and studies. These Corpuses should of course illustrate every variety of every type issued by a king, a feudatory or a republic. The lover of art should find these volumes attractive and should feel it an artistic feast to run

over their plates. With these volumes on his table, the research worker should not normally feel the need of consulting many other works.

The proposed series is tentatively divided into the following ten volumes; it is possible that the number may increase to 11 or 12 in the light of actual experience. Each Volume will normally consist of 400 to 500 pages and will be illustrated by 25 to 35 plates.

Vol. I : Early indigenous coinage of India—Cast coins, Punch-marked coins; City and Guild coins; Coins of the Republics and various early Dynasties of Northern India.

Vol. II : Coinage of the Indo-Greeks.

Vol. III : Coinage of the Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, Western Kshatrapas, Kushāṇas, Later Kushāṇas and other contemporary foreign Dynasties.

Vol. IV : Coinage of the Gupta Empire (including its imitations).

Vol. V : Coinage of the Deccan, South India and Ceylon; the Andhra, the Abhīra, the Bodhi, the Early Chālukya, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, the Eastern Chālukya, the Later Chālukya, the Hoysala, the Kadamba, the Pallava and the Vijayanagara dynasties, and early coinage of Ceylon.

Vol. VI : Post-Gupta Coinage of Northern India–the Hūṇas, the Pālas, the Chedis, the Chandellas, the Paramāras the Chaulukyas, the Tomaras, the Chāhamānas, the Shāhis, and Kashmir rulers.

Vol. VII Coinage of the Sultans of Delhi.

Vol. VIII Coinage of the Mugal Empire.

Vol. IX Coinage of the Local and Provincial Muslim Dynasties and contemporary Hindu States, 1206 to c. 1837.

Vol. X The Modern Coinage : the Coinage of the Western Powers in India, the Portugese, the Dutch, the French, the English, etc.; the Coinage of the Contemporary Indian States, the Coinage of the Indian Republic.

The publication of such a comprehensive and ambitious scheme presupposes the utilisation of all the available talent and the Society feels confident that it will receive cooperation from scholars, both in India and abroad.

From the financial point of view the project will be a costly one. The Society has built up a small publication fund, but it will be hardly sufficient for this scheme if it is to be executed within a reasonably short time. It hopes to receive substantial assistance for this project both from the public and the governments.

We are first publishing the fourth Volume of the series on the Coinage of the Gupta Empire and this will naturally require some explanation. Our aim is to give, as far as possible, priority in publication to such volumes as are very urgently needed. Though the present volume is being published in 1957, its press copy was ready in 1946 and at that time Allan's Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins in British Museum and Whitehead's Catalogue of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Kushāna Coins in the Punjab Museum were available for study. The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in British Museum by Allan was on the other hand long out of print in 1946 and as the need of the Corpus on Gupta coins was then keenly felt, it was decided to give the first priority to the present volume, though it was the fourth in the series.

As we were thinking of sending the typescript of the work to the press in 1946, the discovery of the Bayana Hoard of Gupta Gold Coins was announced. I was myself entrusted with the classification of this hoard, and I at once realised that if its contents were not utilised, the proposed Corpus of Gupta Coins would be sadly defective. But as Col. H. H. Sri Brajendra

Sawai Maharaja Brajendra Singh Ji of Bharatpur had planned the publication of the Catalogue of the Hoard, its contents could not be utilised before its publication. As I was myself entrusted with the publication of the Catalogue, I could utilise the interval for bringing the press copy of the present Corpus quite uptodate in the light of the new types and varieties, discovered in this hoard.

Owing to various difficulties, the Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard could not be published before the end of 1954. The present work went to the press in 1953, but partly owing to the difficulties of the press and partly owing to my engagements in America in 1954 and in Germany in 1957 the work of printing lingered on for an abnormally long time and the Corpus could be published only towards the end of 1957. In the meanwhile, the Rāshtrabhāshā Parishad of the Bihar Government, which was keen to publish this book first in Hindi, brought out its Hindi edition in 1954. The Hindi work however does not include the two appendices which deal with the Imitations of Gupta Coinage and Addenda and Corrigenda These were later decided to be added to the present work.

We have already explained above the scope and nature of the proposed Corpus Volumes; the present one tries to satisfy that standard. Political history of the dynasty has been but briefly dealt with in the opening chapter, as we have now several authoritative books available on the subject. The second chapter gives a general survey of the Gupta Coinage, discussing also its originality and artistic merit. Chapters III to X describe the coinage of the great Gupta emperors from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta. Chap. XI deals with the coins of the successors of Skandagupta. Silver, Copper and Gold-coated coins of the different rulers are discussed in appropriate places. Symbols, metrology, palaeography and hoards are dealt with in Chap. XII.

A number of the rulers of the 6th and 7th centuries imitated the Gupta types and motifs, though most probably they were not scions of the Gupta dynasty. It was felt that it would be conveneint to discuss their coinage in this volume and it has been done in Appendix I, which deals with the coins of Bhīmarāja, Harigupta, Harikānta (?), Jayagupta, Vīrasena, Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka, Jayanāga and ancient imitations of Gupta gold coins. The Appendix II discusses new types that had come to light during the long period during the book was in the press. It also corrects some inaccurate or wrong statements in the book.

At the outset, when necessary, there is a geneal discussion of the problems connected with each type; then the type is described and its varieties enumerated. A fairly large number of coins has been selected for illustration. Every variety has been of course illustrated, but very often several coins of each type, class or variety are included in the Plate, when it was necessary to do so in order to bring out the complete legend or show some points of special importance. Thus in the case of the King and the Queen type of Chandragupta I, six coins have been selected for illustration; in the first one (Pl. 1.8) the back of the throne is invisible; in the second one (Pl. 1.9) it is visible; in the third one (Pl. I. 10) the crescent appears between the King and the Queen; in the fourth one, (Pl. 1,11) the object presented is very clear; in the fifth one (Pl. 1.12) the fabric is very crude and in the sixth one (Pl. 1.13) there is a beautiful cluster of dots between the feet of the royal couple.

We desire that our Corpuses should be as much self-contained as possible and the necessity of consulting earlier books should be minimised. With this object in view, we have illustrated a few Indo-Bactrian and Kushāṇa coins in Pl. I, which are often referred to while discussing the question of the attribution of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type. Coins of Rudrasena III have also been illustrated in Pl. XVI,

1-2, in order to show the similarity of the silver coins of Chandragupta II with them. Some coins have also been illustrated in the enlarged size in order to facilitate their study; see Pls. IX. 9; XVII. 7.

The work discusses a number of complicated and controversial points and perhaps throws new light upon some of them. Attention may be drawn to the controversy connected with the coinage of Chandragupta I, (pp. 28-32), the discussion of the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta (pp. 61-66), the problem of the identity of Kācha (pp. 78-87), the Chakravikrama (pp. 145-150) and the King and Queen on the Couch type of Chandragupta II (pp. 138-140, 345-8), various new types of Kumāragupta I (Chap. VIII), Garuḍa with outstretched Wings type of Mahendrāditya (pp. 213-5), Trident type and silver-coated coins of the same ruler (pp. 226-8; 233-8), the interpretation of Apratigha (p. 358) etc. in this connection. In the treatment of symbols and metrology (pp. 287-301) it is hoped that much new material will be found.

I have tried my best to balance the conflicting claims of brevity and comprehensiveness in this work; it is for others to judge whether I have succeeded in this task.

It now remains to perform the pleasant duty of recording my thanks to a number of Institutions, scholars and friends. The authorities of the British Museum permitted me to use the photographs of the coins published in Allan's Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties; the Archaeological Department supplied to me the photographs of the coins in the Bayana hoard and H. H. the Maharaja of Bharatpur graciously allowed me to use them for the present work. Mr. A. D. H. Bivar supplied to me at short notice the photograph of the coin No. 680 of the Bodleian Collection. Mr. M. M. Nagar, the Director of the State Museum, Lucknow, sent to me a number of photographs for being used. The same was done by Mr. J. Das of Allahabad. I am indebted to all these

institutions and persons for the help they have rendered in this work.

Sri. P. L. Gupta helped me in several ways in the preparation and printing of this work. He saw the proofs during my absence in America in 1954.

The Numismatic society is indebted to Sir Ratan Tata Trust for a donation of Rs. 1,000, to N. M. Wadia Trust for a donation of Rs. 1500, to the U. P. Government for a donation of Rs. 1,500 given for the purpose of helping the Corpus scheme. The Union Government has also promised under certain conditions a donation of half the expenditure on the present volume, but subject to a maximum of Rs. 5,000. The Society desires to express its indebtedness to the above trusts and governments for their help.

If adequate funds become available, the Society hopes to publish the next volume, which is ready for press, within two years. It will be on the Coinage of the Indo-Greeks.

15-8-1957
Patna.

A. S. Altekar

ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLITERATION

ABBREVIATIONS

A. A. : Ariana Antiqua.
A. S. I., A. R. : Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
A. S. W. I. : Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
B. H. : Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard.
B. M. C. : British Museum Catalogue.
B. M. C., A. K. : Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Andhra Dynasties, Western Kshatrapras, etc.
B. M. C., A. W. K. : ,, ,, ,,
B. M. C., G.D. : Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, the Gupta Dynasty, etc.
B. M. C., G. S. : Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythic Kings.
C. A. S. R. : Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.
C. I. I. : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. L. I. S. : Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians.
C. M. I. : Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India.
E. I. or Epi. Ind. : Epigraphia Indica.
I. A. : Indian Antiquary.
I. M. C. : Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
J. A. O. S. : Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B. : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. B. R. A. S. : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. R. S. : Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
J. B. O. R. S. : Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. N. S. I. : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J. R. A. S. : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M. A. S. I. : Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

N. Chr. : Numismatic Chronicle.

N. S. or Num. Supp. : Numismatic Supplements to J. A. S. B.

P.E. : Prinsep's Essays.

P. M. C. : Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum.

Pr. A. S. B. : Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Ś. Br. : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Sr. Sū. : Śrauta Sūtras.

Transliteration

The following are the main points to be noted about the transliteration scheme.

आ ā; ई ī; ऊ ū; ऋ ṛ; Visarga ḥ

ङ् ṅ; च् ch; छ् chh; ञ् ñ; ट् ṭ; ठ् ṭh; ड् ḍ; ढ् ḍh; ण् ṇ;

श् ś; ष् sha; क्ष् ksh; ज्ञ् jñ

COINAGE
OF
THE GUPTA EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY

It will be convenient to give here at the outset a brief outline of the history of the Gupta dynasty for the general reader. We shall not discuss any points of detail or controversy, but mention just such facts as are necessary to be known in order to understand the coinage of the dynasty. A book on Gupta coinage need no longer contain a long introduction dealing with the details of the history of the dynasty,[1] as there are several authoritative and easily accessible books on the subject.[2]

The Gupta dynasty was founded in south-east Bihar[3] by Śrīgupta in *c.* 260 A. D. His kingdom was a very small one,

1. This was necessary when the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum* was published by Mr. Allan in 1914.
2. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar—*The Age of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas*, reprint, 1954; H. C. Raychoudhari, *The Political History of Ancient India*, 5th. edition, 1951. etc.
3. Recently Dr. B. P. Sinha has argued that the home of the Guptas was near Ayodhya. *J. B. O. R. S.* XXXVII, p. 138.

and he is never given any thing higher than a feudal title in the official records of his more distinguished successors. Śrīgupta ruled from *c.* 260 to 280 A.D. and was too insignificant a ruler to issue any coinage. His son and successor, Ghaṭotkacha, did not succeed in attaining to the imperial status and did not issue any coinage. It will be shown in Chap. XI that the solitary gold coin, bearing the legend *Ghaṭo,* was issued by a later prince of the dynasty. The reign of Ghaṭotkacha may be placed from *c.* 280 to 300 A. D.

Ghaṭotkacha's son and successor, Chandragupta I, was the real founder of the greatness of his house. His matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis, a princess of whose family named Kumāradevī was his crowned queen, helped his rise to the imperial position. The Gupta and the Lichchhavi kingdoms were amalgamated as a consequence of this union and a compact block of Mithilā and Bihar was thus formed. With his resources thus increased, Chandragupta extended his sphere of influence and soon annexed Oudh and that portion of the Gangetic valley which extended from Buxar to Allahabad. When the kingdom was thus expanded to more than double its size, Chandragupta decided to assume the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*, at a formal coronation celebrated sometime in *c.* 320 A. D., when he seems to have started the Gupta era as well as the Gupta coinage. After nominating his son Samudragupta, born of the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, as his successor, Chandragupta died in *c.* 330 A. D.

The matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis was the most dominating political event of the reign of Chandragupta I, and it profoundly affected his coinage. He is seen to be issuing coins only in one type, where the place of honour on the obverse is shared both by him and his queen Kumāradevī; the reverse however exclusively mentions the name of the Lichchhavis. Chandragupta I is the earliest Hindu ruler, whose inscribed gold coins have come down to us.

Samudragupta was no doubt nominated as his successor by Chandragupta I, but indications are not wanting to show that there might have been a war of succession after his death.[1] A king named Kācha flourished at about this time and may have been the cause of this war. His precise position is not possible to determine; it will be discussed later. Samudragupta was able to overcome all the troubles that arose at his succession and soon re-established his own position and then proceeded to expand the extent of his empire.

Samudragupta was a great organiser and an ambitious conqueror. He overthrew a number of petty rulers and annexed to his empire northern U. P., the south-eastern Punjab and the territory from Delhi to Saugar; the Vindhya Pradesh and south Kośala were brought within the sphere of the imperial influence. After consolidating his position in the north, Samudragupta launched upon a spectacular expedition to South India, during the course of which his armies swept across the eastern coast right up to Kāñchī or Conjeeverum, 20 miles south of Madras. About a dozen petty kings ruling in this region formally acknowledged the suzerainty of the conqueror, and he was content to return home laden with the tributes paid by them; annexation of the conquered territory was not attempted. The view that Samudragupta returned from the south via western India through Mahārāshṭra is now shown to be wrong; the kings of Devarāshṭra and Eraṇḍapalla, who submitted to him, are now shown to be ruling in Kalinga on the eastern coast and not in Mahārāshṭra in western India. The Vākāṭakas were ruling over Central Province (Madhya Pradesh) and part of Mahārāshṭra and Samudragupta did not cross sword with them.

Samudragupta had a long reign extending over more than 40 years; it may be presumed to have ended in *c.* 370 A. D. During this period, the imperial coinage recorded considerable progress in types, varieties and artistic excellence. Like his

1. See vv. 4 and 5 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

father, Samudragupta did not issue any coins in copper and silver, but his gold coins, which were issued in large quantity, show six different types. They will be described in due course.

According to one view Samudragupta was succeeded by his eldest son Rāmagupta, who after a short reign, had to give place to his younger brother Chandragupta II, who rescued the empire from a great calamity created by a successful Kushāṇa invasion. This view is however rejected by other scholars, who are not prepared to accept the historicity of Rāmagupta, as it is not supported by any epigraphical and numismatic evidence. The first school, however, points out that Rāmagupta's name was omitted from the official genealogy either because he was a collateral or because his reign was a blot upon the fair name of the family. Recently some copper coins have been found in Mālwā, which clearly bear the name of Rāmagupta. It is not unlikely that he may be identical with the eldest son of Samudragupta. The whole position about Kācha and Rāmagupta is still very obscure.

Chandragupta's accession may be placed in *c.* 375 A.D. He had a long reign extending down to a little beyond *c.* 412 A.D. He had to face a sea of troubles at the beginning of his rule. There were rebellions in Bengal and the Kushāṇas had to be driven out. He rose equal to the occasion. Bengal was pacified and then imperial armies pushed back the Kushāṇas right up to the banks of the Indus.[1] The Western Punjab, however, was not annexed to the Gupta empire, but Kushāṇa and Śaka chiefs were allowed to rule there as Gupta feudatories.

Sometime after *c.* 390 A. D. Chandragupta II launched a powerful offensive against the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwā, Gujarat and Kathiawar. The campaign was very remarkably

1. This information is based upon the data of the Mehrauli pillar inscription, which is generally assumed to be a record of Chandragupta II.

successful and the Śakas, who were ruling over this territory for more than 300 years, were completely and for ever wiped out from the political map of India. The rich provinces of Mālwā, Gujarat and Kathiawar were annexed to the Gupta empire and they opened a new avenue for direct maritime trade with the West.

Prabhāvatīguptā, a daughter of Chandragupta II, was married to Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. She was unfortunately widowed early in life, and when her husband died, she had two minor sons. Chandragupta helped his daughter in running the Vākāṭaka administration as the regent for the heir-apparent by sending a number of experienced officers to conduct the administration.

During the long reign of Chandragupta II the imperial coinage recorded considerable progress. Both copper and silver currencies were introduced, the latter being a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype. The issue was probably intended for the new western provinces of the empire, which were accustomed to the currency in silver only.

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumārgupta I. There is an interval of three years between the earliest date of the new emperor (96 G. E.) and the latest date of his predecessor (93 G. E.) and some scholars have argued that Govindagupta, a brother of Kumāragupta, had usurped the throne during this interval.[1] This theory, however, is supported by very slender datum and there is no epigraphical evidence to support it. Even if we suppose that Govindagupta did rule during part of this interval of three years, he has left us no coinage either in gold or in silver or in copper.

Kumāragupta I had a long reign of about 40 years, but very few political events connected with it are known. He attempted no new conquests, and his Aśvamedha sacrifice was intended more to emphasise his imperial position than to

1. R. N. Saletore: *Life in Gupta Age*, pp. 29-30.

celebrate any fresh annexations. The discovery of a hoard of his silver coins in Satara district need not show that central and southern Mahārāshṭra was added to his empire. The hoard may have been savings of a Mahārāshṭrian merchant trading in Gujarat, or may have constituted the honorarium of a learned Brāhmaṇa, who may have been invited to Gujarat for the performance of Vedic sacrifices.

Kumāragupta's reign was on the whole peaceful down to *c.* 450 A. D. The tranquility and prosperity of his empire is reflected in his coinage, which is noteworthy for its remarkable originality, artistic merit and the poetic excellence of its legends. He issued as many as fourteen types of gold coins and some of them like the Horseman, the Kārtikeya, the Rhinoceros-slayer and the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer types, will rank among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India.

Kumāragupta introduced silver currency also for the home provinces of the empire, and the type that was devised for this new currency was altogether free from the Kshatrapa influence. Silver currency of Kumāragupta is much more copious than that of any other Gupta emperor. He, however, paid no attention to copper currency and very few coins of his in this common man's metal have come down to us.[1]

Towards the end of his reign the peace of the empire was considerably disturbed. His nephew, the Vākāṭaka ruler Narendrasena, was attacked by the Nalas, but Kumāragupta could send him no military aid. Nearer home, a tribe named the Pushyamitra rebelled against the Gupta overlordship in the upper Narmadā valley. The situation for a while became quite threatening and it could be saved only by the crown-prince Skandagupta assuming the command. The Pushyamitras were subdued, but their conqueror had not the satisfaction of reporting his victory personally to his father. The old emperor had died, while the imperial armies were still engaged in overcoming the rebels.

The struggle with the Pushyamitras put a heavy strain upon the resources of the empire. It must however be said to the credit of Kumāragupta's administration that it did not debase its gold currency. It was however compelled to issue silver-plated coins both in the home provinces as well as in Western India.

Kumāragupta was succeeded by his son Skandgupta. There is some evidence to suggest that Skandagupta's succession may have been disputed by his brother (or half-brother) Purugupta. On the whole, however, it appears more probable that Purugupta succeeded Skandagupta after his death and did not oppose his accession.

Skandgupta had suppressed the rebellion of the Pushyamitras before his accession, but fresh troubles soon cropped up. There was a serious invasion of the empire by the Hūṇas from the north-west. The imperial armies were again hard pressed in meeting the new menace; one record describes how the earth was shaken to its very foundations, when the opposing armies met in a deadly conflict. Skandgupta was able to drive back the invasion, but most probably the Eastern Punjab could not be recovered. Peace and order was however maintained in the rest of the empire during the reign of Skandagupta.

The emperor was probably too much occupied in military affairs to pay much personal attention to his coinage. We do find a new interesting type issued by him, the King-and-the-Lakshmī type, probably representing that goddess as offering him the crown. But otherwise he mostly confined himself to the Archer type. Only one solitary coin of his in the Chhatra type has come to light, and a coin in the Horseman type is possible to be attributed to him, though not with absolute certainty.

Skandagupta's silver coinage is almost as copious as that of his father, and we find him introducing two new types, the Bull type and the Altar type.

467 A. D. is the last known date of Skandagupta and his death may be presumed to have taken place in that year or the year succeeding. His successor was most probably his brother Purugupta, who died after a very short reign of a year or two. He has left us no coinage; gold coins once attributed to him are now shown to have been the issues of Budhagupta. It is not impossible that the gold coins bearing the *biruda* of Prakāśāditya may have been issued by him.

Purugupta's short reign may have been due to his having succeeded his brother when he was quite old. But we find that his son Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya had also a short reign of about four years, for his son Kumāragupta II is seen on the throne in the year 473. Within three years of this date we see Budhagupta, uncle of Kumāragupta II, installed upon the imperial throne and he is seen to be ruling the empire down to *c.* 495 A. D.

The history of the period is shrouded in obscurity and has given rise to various theories, none of which can be regarded as proved definitely. One view is that the three successive short reigns of Purugupta, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II were due to disputed succession. Budhagupta is assumed to have opposed his brother Narasiṁhagupta and the latter's son Kumāragupta II. The internecine struggle probably cut short the reigns of both Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II and ended with the accession of Budhagupta after the overthrow of his nephew Kumāragupta II in *c.* 473 A. D. It is not unlikely that Ghaṭotkachagupta, perhaps a brother of Skandagupta, who was probably a governor of Mālwā in 435 A. D., declared independence during this struggle and issued gold coinage. The solitary coin in the St. Petersberg (Leningrad) Museum, with the legend *Ghaṭo* under the arm, was probably issued by him.

This reconstruction of history, though plausible, is by no means free from difficulty. The gold coinage of Kumāragupta II is more numerous than that of any successor of Skanda-

gupta. This circumstance renders it extremely improbable[1] that his reign should have lasted only for three or four years and should have terminated with the accession of Budhagupta in 476 A. D. We further have definite evidence to show that Kumāragupta's son Vishṇugupta also ascended the imperial throne and assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja.* It therefore appears most plausible to assume that Kumāragupta's reign did not terminate with the accession of Budhagupta in 476 A. D. Very probably some kind of understanding was arrived at between the uncle and the nephew; Budhagupta, who was the more powerful among the two, got the lion's share of the old Gupta empire, his nephew Kumāragupta II remaining content with a small kingdom probably somewhere in south-eastern Bengal, where his coins are found in large quantity.

Though Budhagupta had a long reign of twenty years, his gold coins found so far are few. His silver coinage is also scanty and confined to the Madhyadeśa type. Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II have left us only gold coinage.

History of the Gupta empire after the death of Budhagupta in *c.* 496 A. D. is but imperfectly known. It is very probable that Vishṇugupta, the son of Kumāragupta II, succeeded him in *c.* 490 A. D. in his small dominion in the east and Bhānugupta succeeded Budhagupta at Pāṭaliputra in *c.* 496 A. D. No coinage of Bhānugupta has, however, come down to us, but several gold coins of Vishṇugupta have been discovered. The latest Gupta emperor known from his coinage is Vainyagupta; his name was long misread as Chandragupta on his gold coins. Since a copper plate of Vainyagupta was found in southern Bengal, we may presume that he was a son and successor of Vishṇugupta.

There was a renewed Hūṇa onslaught towards the end of the 5th century A. D. under the leadership of Toramāṇa.

1. It is however not impossible that some of these coins may be the issues of a Kumāragupta III, who appears to have ruled in *c.* 540 A. D.

The Hūṇas were able to overrun the Punjab and Rajputana and they even penetrated into Mālwā in *c.* 505 A. D. We find Bhānugupta and his generals fighting with them in Saugar district in 510 A. D. Bhānugupta was most probably not successful in his effort, for we find Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula holding Gwalior in his possession towards the beginning of his reign.

The *āditya*-ending epithet of Bhānugupta is not known, and so it is difficult to state whether he was identical with Bālāditya, who is known to have succeeded in ousting the Hūṇas in *c.* 530 A. D. Most probably Bālāditya was the son and successor of Bhānugupta and completed the work started by his father. The personal name of this Bālāditya is not known; if it was Narasiṁhagupta, as in the case of the Bālāditya who was the son and successsor of Purugupta, it is not unlikely that some of the gold coins bearing the name Nara on the obverse and the *biruda* Bālāditya on the reverse, may have been issued by Bālāditya II, the overthrower of the Hūṇas.

The elimination of the Hūṇa power from Madhyadeśa and Mālwā did not prolong the life of the Gupta empire. Yaśodharman of Mālwā, who had co-operated with Bālāditya, eventually turned against him. He invaded the Gupta empire and was successful in penetrating right up to the Brahmputrā. Yaśodharman's invasion was only a raid, but it showed the weakness of the Gupta empire and encouraged fissiparous tendencies. The Maukharis of Kanauj rebelled and founded an independent kingdom in Oudh and northern U. P. And in their home province of Magadha, the descendants of Bālāditya were ousted by a new Gupta family descended from Kṛishṇagupta, who was probably sprung from a collateral branch. Kṛishṇagupta, his son Harshagupta and grandson Jīvitagupta, were probably loyal feudatories of Budhagupta, Bhānugupta and Bālāditya II. When the Maukharis under Īśānavarman attempted to invade and annex Magadha, we find that it was Kumāragupta III, the son of Jīvitagupta, who

came forward to oppose the invasion. Neither Bālāditya, the victor over the Hūṇas, nor any of his successors, is ever mentioned in the Maukhari records as the opponent of the imperial expansion of that rising dynasty. It is clear that the imperial Gupta family had died down by *c.* 540 A. D. and was by that time replaced by Kumāragupta of that dynasty, which for convenience sake is described as the family of the Later Guptas of Magadha.

Jayagupta and Harigupta, who are known from some rare coins, were perhaps Gupta rulers. If such was the case, their place in the Imperial Gupta family or in the family of Kṛishṇagupta is not known.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE GUPTA COINAGE

In the realm of Indian numismatics, the coinage of the Imperial Guptas occupies a place of great importance. Some of their predecessors like the Indo-Bactrians and the Kushāṇas had no doubt issued coins of high artistic beauty, but they were usually foreign in inspiration, with their legends written in non-indigenous scripts like the Greek or the Kharoshṭhī. Some Indian predecessors of the Guptas like the Mitras of Pañchāla and the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan had issued inscribed coins; they were, however, poor in artistic merit and irregular in size and weight. They also usually showed no portrait, bust or figure of the issuer. Gupta coins constitute the earliest indigenous coinage of India, which approximates most closely to the coins as we know them in the modern age. They are regular in size and weight and bear the figure and name of the issuer. For a few years they showed some foreign influence, but very soon they became thoroughly national in their art, motif and execution.

In its artistic merit, variety and originality, the gold coinage of the Imperial Guptas has hardly any equals among the coinages of ancient India. The artistic merit of Indo-Bactrian coins is no doubt very high, but they do not show that striking and pleasing variety in types and motifs, which we see on the Gupta coins. On the Indo-Bactrian coins, the obverse usually shows the bust of the king; in rare cases, we find the king shown as a horseman. On the Gupta coins, on the other hand, the bust of the king is rare. The king is shown in a variety of attitudes and with a variety of attributes. He is usually standing and wielding either a bow (**Pl. II. 14**), or a battle-axe,

(**Pl. III. 1-5**) or a standard (**Pl. II. 1-6**); sometimes there is an umbrella-bearer by his side (**Pl. VIII. 11**). He is often shown in a deadly grapple with the lion (**Pl. VI. 1-15**), the tiger (**Pl. III. 14**), or the rhinoceros (**Pl. XIII. 3**). Sometimes we find him riding a horse (**Pl. X. 11**), sometimes an elephant (**Pl. XII. 14**); sometimes he is playing on a lute (**Pl. III. 15**) and sometimes feeding a peacock (**Pl. XIII. 13**). We see no such pleasing and artistic variety on the Indo-Bactrian coinage. There is a remarkable variety on the reverses of the Kushāṇa coinage; but it is due simply to the desire to include a number of Greek, Roman, Iranian, Hindu and Buddhist deities, and not to any artistic impulse of the age, as is clearly the case with the Gupta coinage.

That the Hindu art was remarkably creative in the Gupta age is shown not only by its sculpture, but also by its coinage. During the golden age of the Gupta history, no king was content with a single coin-type. Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I had each of them more than half a dozen coin-types. Coinage received special attention, most probably of the emperor himself. At the beginning of a new reign the whole situation was reviewed. Some of the old types were discarded, others were modified and some new ones were sanctioned and introduced in the course of time.

Not only do we have a multiplicity of types, but each type shows a surprising number of varieties. Archer type was the most common type of Chandragupta II in which hundreds of coins were issued, but how bewildering is the variety we see in it! Sometimes the name of the king, *Chandra*, is written under the arm (**Pl. IV. 6-9**), sometimes between the bow and the bowstring (**Pl. IV. 10-11**), sometimes outside the string (**Pl. IV. 12**). Sometimes the bow is held in the right and sometimes in the left hand (**Pl. IV. 6-15; Pl. V. 11**), sometimes at the top and sometimes by the middle (**Pl. IV. 6-11; 12**). Sometimes the king faces left and looks to left, sometimes he faces left but looks to right (**Pl. IV. 6-15; V. 9, 14**). How

studied and artistic is this pleasing variety! We find it occurring on the reverse side also. Take, for instance, the Lion-slayer type. The goddess on the reverse is seated facing on the lion couchant sometimes to left and sometimes to right (**Pl. VI. 1-5; XII. 3**), but sometimes she is seated astride her mount (**Pl. VI. 8**). In some cases the lion is walking to left (**Pl. VI. 14**), and in some cases to right (**Pl. VI. 9-10**).

We have already observed that the art of the Gupta coinage is thoroughly Indian. This statement requires a little further consideration, because Smith has strenuously advocated the view that many of the motifs of the Gupta coinage show foreign inspiration. In most cases, however, Smith's views are untenable. Those conversant with the Bhāgavata religion and aware of the great importance it attached to Vishṇu and his mount Garuḍa, will hardly attach any weight to Smith's contention that the Gupta emperors, who were Bhāgavatas, borrowed the *Garuḍadhvaja* from the Eagle of the Roman aurei.[1] The Besnagar pillar shows that *Garuḍadhvaja* was quite a common motif with the Bhāgavatas long before it was introduced upon the Roman aurei. Peacock was the mount of god Kumāra or Kārtikeya, after whom Kumāragupta I was named; one can therefore well understand why peacock should figure prominently on his gold and silver coins. We would therefore be hardly justified in supposing that the fan-tailed peacock device on the silver coinage of this emperor is borrowed from a rare coin of Julia Augusta, a daughter of Titus, who died sometime between the years 81-90 A. D.[2] Smith admits that the interval of time between this princess and Kumāragupta I is very considerable, but still persists in thinking that her scarce coinage, which is not known to have reached India, must have supplied the prototype. The motif of the king or the goddess feeding peacock is also a purely

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889 p. 24
2. *Ibid*, p. 22.

Indian one; the resemblance, if any, between it and that of Juno feeding a peacock, occurring on some Roman coins, must be regarded as purely accidental. The Horseman and the Lion-slayer types show such common motifs intimately connected with the usual life of Hindu kings, that one can hardly agree with Smith in thinking that they were borrowed from some rare Roman types.[1]

In its initial stages, the Gupta gold coinage does show some foreign influence, but it is Kushāṇa rather than Roman. Even in the marriage scene depicted upon the coinage of Chandragupta I (**Pl. I. 8-13**), the Gupta emperor is shown as wearing Kushāṇa coat and trousers. He does not discard it even when offering oblations on altar in the Standard type (**Pl. I. 14-15**). The goddess on the reverse on early coins is an exact copy of Ardoxsho with cornucopiæ in her hand seated on a high-backed throne (**Pl. I. 14-15**); only her name is omitted. Contrary to Hindu canons of propriety, Samudragupta is shown as his own standard-bearer (**Pl. II. 1-7**), simply because such was the case with the king on the Kushāṇa coins, which were being imitated by the Gupta mint-masters.

Gupta artists were, however, out to Indianise these foreign types as soon as numismatic conservatism would permit the

1. For Smith's views in detail, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1889 pp. 18-22. How unconvincing and half-hearted were his arguments may be judged from the following two excerpts:—

"The unique Retreating Lion type of Chandragupta II presents another variation of the same conception and is the most artistic piece of the Gupta coinage. It is possible that these lion and tiger obverses may have been suggested by Greek representation of Heracles contending with Nemean lion, but *I am not able to show any clear connection between the Greek and Indian designs.* The Retreating Lion coin certainly *has a Greek look* and *I am persuaded* that its spirited design was inspired by Western models." (p. 20).

"The device of the Archer coins may have been suggested by the Persian darics, but this is not probable." (p. 18).

procedure. The Kushāṇa peaked cap was replaced by the Hindu head-dress from the beginning (**Pl. I. 8-15**), but the foreign coat and trousers lingered on some coin-types for several decades. On vast majority of the coins, however, the king began to be shown as wearing the Indian *dhotī*. Ardoxsho was transformed into Durgā by seating her on lion (**Pl. I. 8-13**), or into Lakshmī by providing her with a lotus seat and by substituting the cornucopiæ by the lotus (**Pl. V. 1-5**). The Standard type was sought to be successfully Indianised by substituting the standard either by the battle-axe (**Pl. III. 5**), or by the bow (**Pl. IV. 6**). The vast majority of the types of the Gupta emperors are thoroughly national and represent the indigenous numismatic art at its best.

Gupta gold coins display superb craftsmanship and are masterpieces of design and artistic technique. The Lion-slayer coins of Chandragupta II, displaying his slim, muscular and graceful body (**Pl. VI. 6; VII. 5**) have hardly any equals in their superb grace. The figures of standing queens or goddesses are slim, lovely and winsome (**Pl. VIII. 7, 11**); the graceful manner in which they hold a lotus flower or scatter gold coins or feed the peacock, show the refined taste of the age (**Pl. IV. 1; IV. 8, XI. 2-4**). Their *tribhaṅga* posture is extremely charming (**Pl. XII. 1**). The tall and majestic personality of Samudragupta can be very well visualised from his coins (**Pl. II**). The designs of the King-and-the-Queen types of Chandragupta I (**Pl. I. 8-13**) and Kumāragupta I (**Pl. XIV. 4**), of the Lyrist and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta (**Pl. III. 15-16, 6-12**), of the Chakravikrama and Lion-slayer types of Chandragupta II (**Pl. IX. 8-9; VI**), and the 'Apratigha', Rhinoceros-slayer and the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer types of Kumāragupta I (**Pl. XIV. 1-3, XIII. 3-6; XIII. 1-2**), are all original and show complete mastery of the artistic technique.

The artists pay considerable attention to details and ornamentation revealing the classical taste of the age. Buttoned

coats and trousers of the king look graceful (**Pl. IV. 12; II. 5**), as also his pearl-bordered cap (**Pl. III. 5, 15**) and the crest on his crown (**Pl. VIII. 7**). His hair is shown in a variety of ways; sometimes it is frizzled (**Pl. XII. 6**), sometimes it is falling in graceful tresses (**Pl. IV. 13**), and sometimes it looks like a wig (**Pl. X. 11-15**). The ornaments of ladies do not shroud them as happens in later art; they are few and graceful (**Pl. I. 8-13; III. 6-14**). Their *sārīs* and draperies reveal their charm without any offence to decency (**Pl. III. 7-8**). The mane of the horse is nicely pleated and its plumage and accoutrements is shown in an attractive manner (**Pl. III. 6-7; X. 11-12**).

The literary renaissance, which characterised the Gupta age is reflected in its coinage. For the first time in the history of Indian numismatics, coin legends become mostly metrical;[1] their poetical merit is also very high. It is not improbable that the Gupta emperors, most of whom were men of literary taste, may have themselves composed many of the poetic lines that adorn their coinage. The usual metres are Upagīti Pṛithvī, Upajāti and Vaṁsthavila. It is interesting to note that no successors of the Imperial Guptas cared to follow their tradition of engraving metrical legends on their coinage.[2]

TYPES OF GUPTA GOLD COINAGE

The special features and full description of the numerous types of coinage issued by the Gupta emperors will be discussed later, while dealing with the coinage of each emperor. Here we shall, for the sake of ready reference, enumerate the types issued by each of them with brief and general observations about each.

1. The credit of detection the metrical nature of Gupta coin-legends belongs to Mr. J. Allan.
2. The occurrence of the legend *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ-śrī*............ *divaṁ jayati*, on the coins of Toramāṇa, the Maukharis and Harsha is due merely to blind imitation.

Mahārājas Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, the grand-father and father of Chandragupta I, were not rulers of importance, and so they did not issue any coins. The coinage was started by Chandragupta I, perhaps at the time when he assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* probably towards the end of his reign. The Gupta dominion was at this time a kind of dual kingdom, the share of the Guptas and Lichchhavis being more or less equal. This political circumstance was reflected in the coinage of Chandragupta I, which was confined to a single type, showing the Gupta emperor and his queen on the obverse and mentioning on the reverse the name of the powerful Lichchhavi clan from which his bride hailed.[1] None of the coins of Chandragupta II can be assigned to Chandragupta I, as they all show the *biruda* (epithet) *Vikrama* either alone or in combination. There is so far no evidence to show that Chandragupta I also bore this epithet.

Bailey had no doubt suggested that some coins of the Indo-Scythian style in his possession may possibly have been issued by Chandragupta I. These coins, however, have not been illustrated and Bailey himself was doubtful about the reading of the legend under the arm as *Chandra.* The British Museum has two similar coins, which in addition to the disputed legend under the arm, have the legend outside the standard as well. One of these coins has been illustrated in *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, Pl. III. 6. A similar coin has been published by Cunningham, which we reproduce in **Pl. 1. 5.** It will be clear from this specimen that the legend in question is really *Bhadra*, but that it can be easily mistaken for *Chandra.* Since Bailey himself was doubtful about the reading of the legend, and since other coins of the type show that it is really *Bhadra*, there is no evidence to show that Chandragupta had really issued any coins of the Standard type.

1. The view that these coins are commemoration medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of his parents is untenable. It will be later discussed when this type is described.

It has been recently suggested by Dr. Chhabra that the unique Standard type coin with the legend *Paramabhāgavata* on the reverse should be attributed to Chandragupta I, rather than to Chandragupta II.[1] His arguments, however, though ingenious, are not convincing. The matter can finally be decided only by the help of further evidence. But the fact that Chandragupta II had used the Standard type for the obverse of his unique Couch type (**Pl. IX. 6**) tends to show that the solitary coin of the Standard type should be attributed to him, and this conclusion gets further support from the circumstance that so far there is no evidence to show that Chandragupta I had also adopted the title *Paramabhāgavata*. We may therefore well conclude that the coinage of Chandragupta I was confined only to the King-and-the-Queen type.

Samudragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta I, had a long reign from *c.* 330 to 370 A. D.; he is known to have issued coins in six different types. Of these the Standard type is the most common. It is a very close copy of the type current in the central Punjab under the Shāka or later Kushāṇa rulers during the 3rd century (**Pl. I. 3-4**) and shows the king standing left with a standard in left hand and offering sacrifice on an altar in his front by the right. The trident (*triśūla*) of the prototype is, however, replaced by *Garuḍadhvaja*, the imperial insignia of the new house (**Pl. I. 14-15**).

An attempt to Indianise this type is to be seen in the Archer and Battle-axe types, which were issued later in the reign. Hindu etiquette did not approve of a king becoming his own standard-bearer. The presence of the *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the king also rendered a banner in his left hand superfluous. It was therefore replaced by a bow and the right hand was shown as holding an arrow instead of throwing incense; the result was the Archer type (**Pl. II. 12-14**), which remained very popular till the end of the dynasty. In the Battle-axe type

1. *J. N. S. I.*, XI, p. 15.

(**Pl. III. 1-5**), the standard was replaced by the battle-axe. This type also shows a dwarf attendant standing before the king, completely accoutred on some specimens. The type appears to be showing His Majesty reviewing the progress of a battle from a point of vantage and receiving a report from or issuing instructions to a soldier arriving from the battle-field with the latest news.

Kṛitāntaparaśu was an epithet exclusively used of Samudragupta in the Gupta official records, and it is interesting to notice that the Battle-axe type was not continued by any cf Samudragupta's successors.

Samudragupta conceived the idea of proclaiming his hobbies and achievements to his subjects through the instrumentality of his coins and the result was the Tiger-slayer, the Lyrist and the Aśvamedha types of coins. The Tiger-slayer type shows that the emperor was fond of hunting. The coins of this type are rather rare, but they are very beautiful (**Pl. III. 13-14**). The attitude of the king is very energetic and he is shown wearing the Indian *dhotī* and jewelry. The Lyrist type shows the emperor passing his rather rare leisure hours in playing on a lute, seated on a couch most probably on the terrace of his Pāṭaliputra palace and in a summer evening, as suggested by his scanty dress (**Pl. III. 15-17**). The Allahabad pillar inscription claims that Samudragupta excelled Nārada and Tumburu in his musical skill; we should not, therefore, be surprised to find the king ordering the issue of coins proclaiming this hobby of his. The Aśvamedha type (**Pl. III. 6-12**) proclaims the most spectacular achievement of the emperor. This sacrifice may not have been in real abeyance for a long time, as claimed by the Gupta court panegyrists. But there is no doubt that Samudragupta celebrated it with an unprecedented pomp, and commemorated the occasion by issuing his Aśvamedha coins, which were probably issued primarily for giving presents (*dakshiṇā*) to the officiating priests and invited learned Brāhmaṇas.

The Lyrist, the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta rank among the best specimens of ancient Indian numismatic art. R. D. Banerji describes them as 'freak' types, but there is no doubt that more careful thought and attention was bestowed in determining the details of these types than those of the Standard, the Archer and the the Battle-axe types, which are regarded by Banerji as regular types. It is not clear as to what led Banerji to describe these types as freak ones.[1] It is true that they are rare, but such is also the case with the Archer and the Battle-axe types of the emperor, which are equally scarce. The Aśvamedha type coins are in fact more common than those of the Battle-axe or the Archer type.

The goddess seated on a high-backed throne is the most common motif on the reverse of the coins of Samudragupta; it occurs on the Standard and Archer types; it is borrowed from the Kushāṇa prototype (**Pl. I. 3-4**). Efforts were made to Indianise the type by showing the goddess using a lotus as her foot-stool in the Battle-axe type (**Pl. III. 1-2**). We find her seated on a wicker stool on the Lyrist type (**Pl. III. 15-17**). In the Tiger-slayer type, we find her standing on a *makara* or crocodile (**Pl. III. 13-14**), and the idea probably was to identify her with the Gaṅgā. The reverse of the Aśvamedha type shows Dattadevī, the crowned queen, with a fly-whisk over her shoulder, ready to attend upon the horse which was to be sacrificed (**Pl. III. 6-8**).

The problems connected with the identification of Kācha will be fully discussed when dealing with his coinage. Kācha had a short reign and so his coinage is confined to a single type, —the Chakradhvaja type, showing the king bearing a wheel-topped banner in the left hand and offering sacrifice with the right. The reverse shows a standing goddess, as on the Tiger-slayer type of the preceeding reign. This type of Kācha is not later copied by any other Gupta emperor.

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1. R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 215—17.

So far we know of eight types of the gold coinage issued by Chandragupta II. Curiously enough, the Standard type, which was most popular with his father, was very scarcely issued by him; so far only one coin of this type has been found. The Archer type, which was rather rare with Samudragupta, becomes most common with Chandragupta II.

In the Bayana hoard, out of 983 coins of Chandragupta II, as many as 798 were of this type. In the earlier issues of this type the Goddess was shown as seated on a high-backed throne (**Pl. IV. 6-12**), as on the later Kushāṇa coins. But soon she was converted into a lotus-seated Lakshmī (**Pl. IV. 13-15; V**). Great pains were taken to introduce a pleasing variety both on the obverse and reverse of this popular type, to which we have referred already.

Lion-slayer type is one of the most artistic types of Chandragupta II. Many coins of this class are among the best specimens of Indian art. Here again the mint-masters show great variety in representing the main theme. The lion is sometimes to the right (**Pl. VI. 5-6**), and sometimes to the left of the king (**Pl. VI. 1-4**); it is sometimes standing at bay, (**Pl. VI. 3-6**), sometimes it is being trampled upon by the king (**Pl. VI. 9-10**). Sometimes it is leaping at the king (**Pl. VI. 5**), sometimes it is retreating away from him (**Pl. VII. 5-7**).

The Horseman and the Chhattra types (**Pl. VIII**) of Chandragupta are the most common ones among his new types. The former probably shows that Chandragupta was famous as a horseman among his contemporaries, and the latter is intended to proclaim the undisputed imperial position of the issuer by showing him as the only ruler entitled to the use of the imperial umbrella. Couch type of Chandragupta (**Pl. IX. 1-5**), was probably suggested by the Lyrist type of his father. It is not yet possible to interpret it confidently, but the legend *rūpākṛitī* contained on one coin of this type (**Pl. IX. 1**) would suggest that the emperor is engaged in seeing a dramatic performance, while seated comfortably on a couch. The

King-and-the-Queen-on-the-couch type is known from two pieces only and refers to a homely scene in the life of the busy emperor (**Pl. IX. 6**). The Chakravikrama type is known at present from a single specimen found in the Bayana hoard. It does not bear the king's personal name, but the reverse legend *Chakravikrama* suggests that the issuer was Chandragupta II. The obverse of this type shows Vishṇu with a double halo round his face and a mace in his left hand, bestowing some gift upon the king standing nimbate before him and extending his right hand to receive the divine favour (**Pl. IX. 8-9**).

On the reverse of the gold coins of Chandragupta II, there is usually the seated goddess. In the vast majority of cases she is seated on a lotus; in a few cases, however, she continues to occupy the high-backed throne as on the Kushāṇa prototype. On the Horseman type, however, (**Pl. VIII. 1-5**) she is usually seated on a wicker stool as on the couch type of his father. On the Chhatra type she is sometimes standing to front and sometimes to left, and sometimes walking in the same direction (**Pl. VIII. 6-15**). On the Lion-slayer type, she is seated on a lion (**Pl. VI**).

General observations about the silver and copper coinage of Chandragupta II will be found at the beginning of the sections dealing with those topics.

Kumāragupta I had a long reign (*c.* 414—455 A. D.), which was mostly prosperous, and the number of types of his gold coinage is equal to the types issued by his father and grand-father put together. So far he is known to have issued as many as 14 different types and it is not impossible that some more may be discovered. The Archer (**Pl. IX. 10-14**), the Horseman (**Pl. X. 11-15**), the Lion-slayer (**Pl. XII. 1-10**), and the Chhattra (**Pl. XIII. 15**) types, which were most popular in the preceeding reign, were continued by him. His Chhattra type is, however, very scarce. He revived the Aśvamedha, the Lyrist and the Tiger-slayer types of his grand-father

and the King-and-Queen type of his great-grand-father (**Pl. XIII. 7-10; Pl. XIV. 5; Pl. XII. 11-13; Pl. XIV. 4**). He also introduced several new types. His Kārtikeya type (**Pl. XIII. 11-14**) is a numismatic homage to the deity after whom he was named; his Swordsman type (**Pl. XI. 14-15**) is probably due to his being well-known as a swordsman. In the field of sport he devised three new types, the Elephant-rider (**Pl. XII. 14-15**), the Rhinoceros-slayer (**Pl. XIII. 3-6**) and the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer types (**Pl. XIII. 1-2**). The mystery of the type where he is seen standing with his arms folded on his chest is still unsolved (**Pl. XIV. 1-3**). For the sake of convenience it was once described as 'Pratāpa' type on account of the legend on the reverse; this legend, however, is now seen to be *apratigha.* We may therefore call it Apratigha type, till its mystery is solved.

The reverse of the gold coins of Kumāragupta I shows a goddess, except in the case of the Kārtikeya type, where we see that deity at that place, and in the Aśvamedha type, where we find the crowned queen standing with a *chourī,* ready to attend on the horse. The goddess is usually seated on lotus,[1] but she is sometimes to be seen seated on a wicker stool, and in some cases engaged in feeding a peacock, as on the Horseman, the Tiger-slayer and the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer types. The Lion-slayer type follows the old tradition and represents the goddess on the reverse as seated on lion. On the Elephant-rider type the goddess is standing to front.

The types of the silver coinage of Kumāragupta I will be found discussed in Chap. IX.

There was considerable trouble towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I. There was the Hūṇa invasion, which shook the empire to its foundations and must have drained its treasury. The financial stringency, however, did not induce Kumāragupta I to issue adulterated gold coins. But it com-

1. This is the case on the Archer, the Swordsman and the Apratigha types.

pelled him to sanction the issue of silver-plated copper pieces as silver coins.

The decline in the fortune of the Gupta empire, that started with the accession of Skandagupta, is perhaps responsible for the absence of that pleasing variety of types, which we noticed in the coinage of his great predecessors. The earlier view that his gold coins are heavily adulterated is now shown to be wrong. Why he should have increased the weight of his gold coins to about 140 grains is a mystery. Possibly he wanted to revive the national *suvarṇa* standard.

Only two types were issued by Skandagupta in large numbers. One of them was the Archer type, so popular in the two previous reigns. The other was his numismatic novelty, where we find Goddess Lakshmī, probably offering him the sovereignty of his empire, as described in one of his inscriptions. The unique coin of the Bayana hoard of the Chhattra type with the *biruda Kramāditya* is probably his issue. The same is most probably the case with the solitary coin of the Horseman type, bearing the legend *Kramājitaḥ* or *Kramādataḥ*.

The types of the silver coins of Skandagupta will be found discussed in Chap. X.

Most of the successors of Skandagupta confined themselves to a single type, viz, the Archer type. Such is the case with Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Vishṇugupta and Vainyagupta. The coins of all these rulers are in base gold, though they weigh about 144 grains. Only Prakāśāditya among the later Gupta rulers issued *suvarṇa* standard coins in pure gold. The type he had selected was the Horseman-Lion-slayer type.

CHAPTER III

THE COINAGE OF CHANDRAGUPTA I

Chandragupta I issued coins only in the King-and-the-Queen type and they are not numerous. Their recorded find-spots are Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Lucknow, Sitapur, Tanda, Ghazipur and Banaras in U. P. and Bayana in the Bharatpur state. It is rather strange that no finds of his coins should so far have been recorded in Bihar, the home province of the Gupta empire. His coins vary in diameter from .74″ to .85″ and in weight from 113 to 123.8 grains. The average weight of good specimens is about 120 grains. There are ten coins of this type in the Bayana hoard, nine in the British Museum, four in the State Museum, Lucknow, and six in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1]

The obverse shows the king and the queen facing each other, the former offering to the latter a present at which she is looking with great interest. The object offered has been differently represented on different coins. Sometimes it is a ring held between the thumb and the forefinger (**Pl. I. 8**), sometimes it is a *sindūradānī*,[2] with its handle grasped in the king's closed fingers and its circular or square end peeping above them (**Pl. I. 11-12**). In some cases, the object looks like a bangle or *kaṭaka*, (**Pl. I. 10**), but a *kaṭaka* cannot be held in the manner in which it is held on these coins. We have therefore to presume that what looks like a bangle is the circular end of

1. The information about the number of coins of the different emperors in the different museums given in this work is mostly based upon published catalogues. It is possible that more coins may have been added in recent years in these museums.
2. Ladies hold the handle of the *sindūradānī* in their fingers, dip its circular end in liquid *sindūra* or *kuṁkuma* and then put that mark on their forehead.

the *sindūradānī*. In some cases, the end of the *sindūradānī* looks like a bud (**Pl. I. 9**), but this may be due to a defective representation of the circle at the end.

On some rare coins there is a cluster of dots between the feet of the king and queen (**Pl. I. 12-13**).[1] On the prototype (**Pl. I. 3-4**), this place was occupied by some Brāhmī letter, probably giving the initial of the name of the governor or the mint city. This practice is discarded in the imperial Gupta coinage. It appears that some mint-masters thought of replacing this letter by an ornamental device in the form of a star or cluster of dots. In some cases it is beautifully carved and looks almost like a woven device on the hanging upper garment of the queen (**Pl. I. 13**). In other cases, however, it is crudely represented (**Pl. I. 12**).

The name of the king is written perpendicularly partly under his left arm and partly outside the staff of the standard held in that hand. It is spelt sometimes as *Chaṁdra* (**Pl. I. 13**), but usually as *Chandra* (**Pl. I. 8-12**). The name of the queen Kumāradevī is written behind her standing figure. It is usually prefixed by the honorific term *śrī*, but in rare cases it comes at the end of the name (**Pl. I. 11**). The post-position of *śrī* is rather rare; we have, however, got another instance of it on some coins of the Western Kshatrapa ruler Dāmajada, where the legend is *Damajadaśriyaḥ*.[2] The reverse shows a goddess seated on lion. The feet of the goddess are usually hanging down (**Pl. I. 8-10**), but in rare cases she is seen tucking up one of them (**Pl. I. 11**). She is never shown astride the lion, nor is the latter ever shown as walking, as we see on the Lion-slayer coins of Chandragupta II. The reverse legend gives the name of the Lichchhavi clan as *Lichchhavayaḥ*.[3]

1. See also *I. M. C.*, Vol. I, p. 100, No. 4; *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. III. 2
2. *B. M. C., A. K.*, p. 81
3. Smith states 'On one of the Carnac coins, the reverse legend seems to be *Lichchhivayaḥ*' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 94); but this coin has not been illustrated and Smith is not positive about the reading.

The identity of the goddess on the reverse is not easy to determine. It will be shown how this motif is borrowed partly from a coin type of Kanishka III, where she is seated on a lion but where her name is illegible (**Pl. I. 7**), and partly from the still later coins, where she is seated on a throne and is expressly described as Ardoksho (**Pl. I. 3**). The deliberate discarding of the throne in favour of the lion may suggest that the idea was to represent her as Durgā, whose mount is lion. It is not unlikely that Durgā may have been the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis, whose name alone appears upon the reverse. Mr. Allan describes the feet of the goddess as resting cn a lotus. The object, howevcr, is altogether different in appearance from a lotus, used as a foot-stool on Gupta coins (**Pl. III. 1-2**). It appears to be a circular carpet with some dotted design upon it.

On some coins there is a triangle without base, sometimes with a dot at the apex on the right of the goddess (**Pl. 1. 8**). It is probably intended to be a counterpart of the symbol on the left.

All earlier numismatists had attributed Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins to Chandragupta I. Mr. Allan, however, maintained that these coins were commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and his own Lichchhavi descent.[1] The present writer has examined in detail Mr. Allan's various arguments in order to show how his theory rests on slender evidence.[2] A commemorator, while commemorating his parents or predecessors, rarely fails to indicate his own identity by giving his own name on the reverse. Agathocles (**Pl. I. 1**), Antimachos Theos[3] and Eucratides (**Pl. I. 2**) have all given their own names on the reverse of their commemorative medals; Samudragupta would

1. *B. M.C.*, *G. D.*, Intr. p. lxiv–lxviii
2. *Num. Suppl.*, 1937, pp. 105-11.
3. *B. M.C.*, *Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl.XXX. 6

have obviously done the same, and added a small legend on the reverse like *Mātāpitṛibhaktaḥ Samudraguptaḥ.* On the Aśvamedha coins, where he does not put his personal name, he is careful enough to indicate the identity of the issuer by the significant legend *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.* Why should he completely obliterate himself on this type alone ?

Pāṭaliputra, Gayā and Allahabad, which were certainly included in the kingdom of Chandragupta I, were important centres of trade and pilgrimage and must have had scores of gold coins of the later Kushāṇa rulers circulating in their bazars; one coin of this type was actually found in the Kumrāhār excavations near Pāṭaliputra in 1913 A. D. Unfortunately it was stolen from the Patna Museum. Its register number is 2092.[1] These coins could have supplied the prototype for the Gupta coinage in the reign of Chandragupta I. We need not, therefore, suppose that the Gupta coinage could not have started till late in the reign of Samudragupta, when the boundaries of the empire for the first time touched those of the later Kushāṇa kingdoms of the Punjab.

Mr. Allan observes that if we assume that the Chandra-Gupta-Kumāradevī coins were issued by Chandragupta I, it would be difficult to explain the relatively slavish imitation of the Shāka or the Later Kushāṇa type[2] disclosed by the Standard type of Samudragupta.

This argument, however, is not convincin. Two types prevailed in the coinage of the later Kushāṇa or Shāka rulers of the Punjab; the Śiva type, showing the deity standing by his mount Bull on the reverse (**Pl. I. 4**), was common in the Western Punjab and the Ardoksho type, with the deity seated

1. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, 144
2. On the later Kushāṇa coins current in the Eastern Punjab, there is the name of the king written under the left arm which varies; but outside the spear or standard, there is the word Shāka written on almost all of them. This type may therefore be called either as Shāka or as Later Kushāṇa type.

on a high-backed throne on the reverse (**Pl. I. 3, 5**), was prevailing in the Eastern Punjab. There is no doubt that, as maintained by Mr. Allan, the Standard type of Samudragupta is a close imitation of the latter type. As on the prototype, we see Samudragupta standing to left wearing Kushāṇa coat and trousers and offering oblations on an altar. Only Kushāṇa peaked cap is replaced by the Indian head-dress and the trident in front of the king by the Garuḍa standard, the emblem of the new dynasty. The reverse shows even a closer imitation, the only difference being the substitution of the Sanskrit legend *Parākrama*, giving the *biruda* of the new king (**Pl. I. 14-15; II. 1-7**).

Mr. Allan's argument, however, is not convincing. There is no doubt that the Standard type of Samudragupta is a closer imitation of the prototype than the King-and-the-Queen type of Chandragupta I. But the relative closeness to the prototype does not necessarily prove that the type in question is chronologically earlier than another, which shows lesser imitation of the original. For instance, some of the coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II (**Pl. IV. 8**) show greater imitation of the Kushāṇa prototype on the reverse than the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, as designated by Mr. Allan; for the goddess is seated there on a high-backed throne. Are we to suppose that some varieties of the Archer type of Chandragupta II are earlier than the so-called commemorative medal type of his father Samudragupta ? Skandagupta's Archer type shows the king wearing Kushāṇa coat and trousers (**Pl. XIV. 8-11**). Is it then to be regarded as chronologically earlier than those coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II where the king is wearing a *dhotī ?*

The so-called originality of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type is mostly due to political circumstances. It is admitted on all hands that the Guptas largely owed their rise to the imperial status to the matrimonial alliance of Chandragupta with the Lichchhavis, whose princess Kumāradevī was his

crowned queen. When king William III consented to come over to England to govern it, he insisted on being the regnant king; so all the coins issued during the life of William III and Mary II have the names and the conjugate busts of both the king and the queen. It is quite likely that the proud Lichchhavis may have similarly insisted that not only the name and portrait of their princess, but also the name of their clan, should appear on the coinage of Chandragupta I. This explains the originality of the obverse in so far as it shows both the king and the queen.

The originality of the reverse is also only apparent. Goddess seated on lion was not unknown to Kushāṇa coinage. On one coin of Huvishka we see Nana riding a lion (**Pl. I. 6**). This type, however, is rather too early to be regarded as the prototype. There is a coin type of the late Kushāṇa king Kaneshko, probably Kanishka III, issued in the 3rd century, which shows the goddess on the reverse seated on a lion crouching to left (**Pl. I. 7**). The style in which the goddess is seated on the lion and the way in which she is wearing the upper garment over her shoulders are both closely similar to what we see on the coins of Chandragupta I (**Pl. I. 8, 10**). The goddess on this type of Kaneshko is, however, holding a sceptre in her left hand and not a cornucopiæ. It appears that the reverse of the coin type of Chandragupta I is modelled partly on the Shāka coin type (**Pl. I. 3, 5**) and partly on the type of Kaneshko (**Pl. I. 7**). Cornucopiæ in the hand of the goddess is adopted from the former and her mount lion and the manner of wearing the upper garment from the latter.

The selection of the Lion device from the type of Kaneshko may probably be due to *Siṁhavāhinī* Durgā being the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis, whose exclusive name appears on the reverse. It must, however, be added that there is so far no definite evidence to show that Durgā was the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis. Lion device was popular at Vaiśālī, the capital of the Lichchhavis. Aśokan column at this place is

crowned with Lion and the seal of Queen Dhruvasvāminī, found at Vaiśālī, has also the Lion emblem.

We need not be puzzled by the circumstance of Chandragupta confining himself only to a single type in his reign. His coinage probably began late in his reign, when he formally assumed the title Mahārājadhirāja and started the Gupta era. Like Shivaji he probably did not live long after his formal coronation, and seems to have died within four or five years of that event. Coinage was quite a new administrative activity introduced in the Gupta empire and mint-masters had yet to acquire the necessary experience to embark upon new types. The political alliance with the Lichchhavis would also have rendered the discontinuance of this type very inadvisable, for it recognised the contribution of the Lichchhavis also to the foundation and growth of the new empire.

The available evidence thus shows that the coins bearing the joint names and portraits of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī were really issued when these two were ruling the Gupta empire. There is hardly any evidence to show that they were issued as commemorative medals by Samudragupta. Had he really done so, he would have taken care to put his own name or *biruda* somewhere on the obverse or reverse to disclose his identity.

We now proceed to describe the coin-type of Chandragupta.

KING-AND-QUEEN TYPE.

Obv: Chandragupta, usually nimbate, standing to left, wearing trousers, head-dress,—in some cases with pearl-border,—and a close-fitting tailed coat. He wears ear-rings, armlets and necklace and holds in left hand a crescent-topped standard adorned with fillets. With his right hand he is offering a present to Kumāradevī, usually but not always nimbate, who stands facing him to right, wearing a *sārī*,

an upper garment, a close-fitting head-dress, in some cases pearl-bordered, a necklace, earrings, and armlets. Her right hand is on waist and the left is hanging down. There is a crescent between the king and the queen on some coins.

Legend: Under king's l. arm, written vertically *Chandra* (or *Chaṁdra*), outside the standard, also written vertically, *gupta*; (**Pl. XXIV. 71**). On the left, between VII and XI,[1] *Śrī-Kumāradevī* (**Pl. XX, 2**) or *Kumāradevīśrī.*

Rev: Within dotted border Goddess, nimbate, wearing a bodice, a *sārī*, an upper garment, a necklace and a circular pearl ornament round the forehead, seated facing on lion to right or left,[2] holding a noose in right hand and a cornucopiæ in the left; a circular dotted carpet under her feet; traces of back of the throne on most specimens.

Symbol to left in all cases and also to right in some. Legend; on right in a straight line, *Lichchhavayaḥ*; (**Pl. XXIII. 43**).

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 6

(1) Gold; .85″; 117.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. I. 1.

Obv: King and queen, not nimbate, which is rather rare. King wears a pearl-bordered cap and trousers with prominent buttons. The object offered is held between the thumb and forefinger and looks like a ring. The crescent-top of the banner in the king's left hand is clearly visible. Legends, *Chandragupta,*

1. These numbers refer to their position on the face of a clock and are given to indicate the precise position of the legend.
2. Her legs are usually hanging down; in some cases she partially tucks up her left leg on the lion's head (**Pl. I. 11**). She is never astride the lion, nor is ever the lion shown walking, as on the coins of his grandson.

last two letters being partly off the flan; *Śra-Kumāra-deva* behind the queen.

Rev: Back of the throne not visible. Lion to r.; symbol on r. also.

(Pl. I. 8.)

(2) Gold; .8″; 121.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. I. 3.

Obv: King and queen both nimbate. The handle of the object presented is grasped in the fist and its conical end peeps out above. Crescent top not visible. Legends; *Chandragupta*; *Śrī-Kumāradeva*.

Rev: Back of the throne visible on r. Lion couchant to l.; no symbol on r. Legend, *Lachchhavayaḥ*.

(Pl. I. 9.)

(3) Gold; .85″; 118.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. I. 6.

Obv: Crescent between the king and the queen. Crescent-top of the banner off the flan. Circular end of the *sindūradānī*, looking like a bangle, is peeping above the king's thumb; the object may also be a bangle queerly held. Legend as above, but blurred and truncated.

Rev: Lion to r. Back of the throne is clearly visible on r. and the symbol on l., as it were counterbalancing it. No symbol on r. Legend, *Lachchhavayaḥ*.

(Pl. I. 10.)

(4) Gold; .8″; 123. 8 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*; Pl. III. 10.

Obv: Crescent between the heads of the king and the queen. Standard in king's hand almost invisible. Both the handle and the circular end of the *sindūra-dānī* are clearly visible. Legend as above, but Kumāradevī's name is spelt as *[Ku]maradevaśra*, the honorific suffix coming at the end.

Rev: Back of the throne visible; lion couchant to r. Legend, *Lachchhavayaḥ*.

(Pl. I. 11.)

(5) Gold; .85″; 118 grains; Bodleian Collection, *N. Ch.* 1891, Pl. II. 1.

Obv: A coin of crude fabric. The object offered is held by the handle and its end, which looks more like a square than a circle, is distinctly visible. Legend as above, but the queen's name is off the flan. Three dots between the feet of the king and the queen.

Rev: Lion to l. No back for the throne. Legend truncated. Symbol on l. only.

(Pl. I. 12)

(6) Gold; .8″; 113 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. III. 1.

Obv: Crescent top of the standard is not visible. The handle of the object presented is held in the fist and its head is peeping out. A beautiful cluster of dots between the feet of the king and the queen. Legends, *Chaṁdragupta; Śra-Kumaradeva.* Note that the name is spelt as *Chaṁdra* and not as *Chandra* which is the usual manner.

Rev: Lion to l. Legend, *Lachchhavayaḥ* truncated.

(Pl. I. 13)

Key to the coins referred to in this chapter and illustrated in Plate 1.

COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL OF AGATHOKLES

Silver; 1.3″; 263. 5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.S.*, Pl. IV. 3.

Obv: Head of Euthydemos to r., diademed, border of dots. Legend, ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

Rev: Heracles seated on rock with club resting on his knee. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Monogram below the rock.

(Pl. I. 1.)

COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL OF EUCRATIDES

Silver; 1.2″; weight not known; *P.M.C.*, Pl. I. IX, iv.

Obv: Conjugate busts of Heliokles and Laodike; legend above, ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ; below ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗ. Monogram behind the head.

Rev: Helmeted bust of Eucratides to r.; legend above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

(Pl. I. 2.)

LATE KUSHANA OR SHAKA TYPE OF THE EASTERN PUNJAB.

(3) Gold; .8″; weight not stated; *C.L.I.S.*, Pl. II. 1.

Obv: King standing to l., wearing peaked cap, tailed and buttoned coat and trousers and holding a standard or spear in the l. hand and offering oblations by the r. on an altar in his front; trident in front of the king. Circular Greek legend in corrupt and illegible Greek script. Brāhmī legend; under l. arm, *mi; Shāka*, outside the spear written perpendicularly.

Rev: Ardoksho seated on a high-backed throne, holding cornucopiæ in l. hand and noose in r.; symbol on l.; legend on r. in corrupt Greek script, ΑΡΔΟ...

(Pl. I. 3.)

LATE KUSHANA OR SHAKA TYPE OF THE WESTERN PUNJAB.

(4) Gold; .9″; weight not recorded; *C.L.I.S.*, Pl. I. 13 (obv.), 14 (rev.).

Obv: King as in **Pl. I. 3;** circular legend in corrupt Greek script illegible; Brāhmī legend outside the spear, *Roda*; between the feet, *yo* or *gho*; on l. *śa*.

Rev: Śiva standing facing by the side of his mount bull holding trident in l. hand and noose in r.; symbol on l.; legend on r. *Oesho*[1] (to be read from outside)

(Pl. I. 4.)

1. See p. 37, no. 1.

LATE KUSHANA TYPE OF THE EASTERN PUNJAB.

(Issued by king Bhadra)

(5) Gold; .8″; weight not recorded; *C.L.I.S.*, Pl. II. 12.

Obv: As on **Pl. I. 3**; but Greek legend off the flan. Under l. arm *Bhadra*, which can be easily mistaken for *Chandra;* outside the standard *Shilada.* Note that *lada*, looks like *pta.*

Rev: As on **Pl. I. 3** but legend illegible.

(**Pl. I. 5.**)

A COIN OF HUVISHKA.

(6) Gold; .8″; weight not stated; *P.M.C.*, Vol. I., Pl. XX, x, from B. M.

Obv: Bust of the king to r., holding club in r. hand; usual circular Greek legend, partly off the flan, SHAO NANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO.[1]

Rev: Goddess Nana, seated on lion to r., with her legs hanging down; she holds a club in her r. hand; symbol on l., legend NANO in corrupt Greek.

(**Pl. I. 6.**)

A COIN OF KANESHKO

(7) Gold; 1.2″; weight not known; *J.A.S.B.*, 1933, p. 7.

Obv: King standing as in **Pl. I. 4-6,** but holding a trident in his l hand; another trident in front. Circular Greek legend blurred and corrupt; traces of *Kaneshko shao* can be seen on the l.

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion walking to l., holding noose in r. hand and a sceptre in l.; lunar crescent

1. Letters E and SH are written on the coin in their usual form current at this time. They are not reproduced in the text in these forms owing to typographical difficulties.

behind her shoulders. Symbol in the upper l. quadrant. Legend on r. in illegible Greek script. **(Pl. I. 7.)**

Note that the manner in which the goddess is seated on the lion and the fashion in which she is wearing the upper garment are closely similar to what we see on the coins of Chandragupta I; see **Pl. I, 8, 11, 13.**

CHAPTER IV.

COINAGE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

Numismatic activity, which started late in the reign of Chandragupta I, was continued with renewed zest and vigour by his illustrious son and successor Samudragupta. The political conditions which compelled Chandragupta I to confine himself only to one coin-type did no longer exist in the reign of Samudragupta, who was an heir to both the Lichchhavi and the Gupta kingdoms. The new king therefore issued a number of coin-types during his long reign. Of these the Standard type was the most popular; it was an adaptation of the late Kushāṇa type prevailing in the eastern Punjab, as already pointed out earlier (pp. 29-30). The Archer and the Battle-axe types were further modifications of the Standard type, where the king is shown as holding a bow and a battle-axe respectively, instead of the standard. These three types may be labelled as the military types. As a natural consequence of the victories in the battle-field, he performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which resulted in the issue of the Aśvamedha type. The emperor was a great sportsman and a gifted musician; he decided to proclaim these hobbies of his to his subjects as well as to posterity on some of his coins, and the result was the Tiger-slayer and the Lyrist types.

Of these types the Standard type is the most popular one, while the Aśvamedha and the Battle-axe types rank next. The coins in the remaining types are rather scarce.

It is not possible to determine with certainty the relative chronology of the different types issued by Samudragupta. The Standard type, which is most common, was probably the earliest; it seems to have been continued throughout the reign. The Archer type may be slightly later; it shows a greater degree of originality than its predecessor. The Battle-axe type

presupposes considerable numismatic experience and may be the third in the chronological order. The Tiger-slayer type shows very high artistic merit and may be the fourth in order of time. The Lyrist and the Aśvamedha types are artistically of very high order and seem to be interconnected by the use of the letter *si* on the obverse. And since the Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed towards the end of the reign, we may well assume that both these types were issued at that time. We must add before concluding that the above relative chronology of the types is purely tentative.

The emperor issued no silver or copper coins. R. D. Banerji no doubt refers to two copper coins discovered near Katwa in the Burdwan district of Bengal, which bore on the obverse the figure of Garuḍa above and the name *Samudra* below, the reverse being completely illegible. These coins, however, have not been published, and therefore it would be hazardous to assert that Samudragupta had really issued a copper currency. As silver coins were not current earlier in the territories over which Samudragupta was ruling, he issued no currency in the white metal.

We now proceed to describe the different types of the gold currency of Samudragupta.

STANDARD TYPE.

The Standard type is the most popular type of Samudragupta, as will be seen by a glance at the published catalogues of the Gupta coins of most museums. The Bayana hoard had 183 coins of Samudragupta, of which as many as 136 belonged to the Standard type. The British Museum has 17 coins of this type, the Indian Museum 19, the State Museum Lucknow 29 and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 10.

Coins of this type have been found all over the Gupta empire from Saharanpur to Calcutta. They vary in size from .75″ to .9″ and in weight from 104.5 grains to 122. Some of

the weights like 104.5 are abnormal. It appears that the coins of this type were normally issued to three weight standards, 115, 118 and 121 grains; see Chap. XIIB.

In this type, we have on the obverse the king standing to l., holding a standard in the left hand and offering oblation by the right. There is a Garuḍa standard in his front. On the reverse we have a goddess seated on a throne, holding cornucopiæ in left hand and noose in the right.

The designation of this type is not free from difficulty. Smith thought that the object in the king's l. hand was a javelin and so he described the type as Javelin type. Mr. Allan thought that the object was a standard and so he described the type as the Standard type. Mr. P. L. Gupta[1] and Dr. B. C. Chhabra[2] have described the type as *rājadaṇḍa* (sceptre) type. No definite preference can be shown to any of the above names, because the object is not uniformly represented. On some coins (*e.g.* **Pl. I. 14; II. 2**) the object has a pointed end and distinctly resembles a javelin, but on others (*e. g.*, **Pl. II. 1, 3, 5**) it is clearly a sceptre or *rājadaṇḍa* with a thick and flattened end. In favour of the Javelin theory, it may be pointed out that on other types of Samudragupta, we find him wielding weapons like the bow and the battle-axe in his left hand; we should therefore conclude that he has a javelin in this type, especially since it clearly resembles that weapon in the majority of cases. As against this view, it may be pointed out that the object has a flag-like ribbon or a fillet attached to it in its upper half (**Pl. I. 14; II. 1, 5, 6** etc.), which we do not see in the case of a spear. As against Mr. Allan's view that the object is a standard, it may be pointed out that the obverse shows the official Gupta standard, *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the king; would not then a second standard in the king's left hand have been superfluous ? The king as his own

1. *J. N. S. I.*, IX. 146.
2. *Ibid*, XI. 25.

standard-bearer is also not in consonance with Indian tradition of propriety and dignity. The third view suggests that the object is a sceptre or *rājadaṇḍa* and it undoubtedly looks like one in **Pl. II, 1, 2, 5, 8.** But *rājadaṇḍa* also has not a ribbon or a fillet or a flag attached to its upper half, and in majority of cases the object has a pointed end like a javelin. If the object was really looked upon as a *rājadaṇḍa*, one cannot understand why the majestic motif of the king appearing with his *rājadaṇḍa* should not only have become unpopular but should have altogether disappeared in later times. Since each view is beset with difficulties, we propose to continue the designation of Standard type, simply because it is well-established.

The close resemblance, which the Standard type bears to its prototype, has been already discussed (p. 30). It is however necessary to draw attention to the conscious effort that the mint-masters were making to Indianise the type. The Kushāṇa peaked head-dress is replaced by a close-fitting cap, decorated in the Hindu fashion by a pearl-border (**Pl. II. 2. 5**). *Triśūla* (trident) in front of the king is replaced by a Garuḍa banner which was the insignia of the Guptas.[1] Above all, the corrupt and unmeaning Greek legend on the obverse is replaced by a Sanskrit metrical inscription in Brāhmī characters. Perhaps the only remnant of the Greek legend may be detected in a solitary crescent, that we sometimes see near the Garuḍa-standard or over the king's head (**Pl. I. 15; II. 1**). The crescent may, however, not be the remnant of a Greek letter and may have had its own significance, because the crescent-standard appears on many types (cf. **Pl. I. 8; III. 3; III. 13**). The Greek legend *Ardoxsho*, which appears on some of the coins of the

1. The Allahabad inscription describes how the charters of Samudragupta used to be stamped with the Garuḍa seal. We cannot therefore accept the opinion of Smith that the Garuḍa standard was copied on the Gupta coins from the Roman eagle. The Garuḍa standard was well known in India even in the 2nd century B. C., as is shown by the Besnagar pillar of Heliodorus.

late Kushāṇa type (**Pl. I. 3**), has been replaced by the Brāhmī legend *Parākramaḥ*, giving the *biruda* of the emperor. It is clear that the Gupta mint-masters were trying to nationalise the foreign type as much as numismatic conservatism would permit. The workmanship of their coins is also much superior to that of their prototype. The metal is almost pure gold, with an alloy of about 10% only, instead of about 50% which was in the late Kushāṇa coins.

On some coins of the Standard type, the back of the throne has been dispensed with (**Pl. II. 5, 8**). It is likely, but by no means certain, that these may have been issued in provinces like Magadha, where the Kushāṇa numismatic influence was not very strong. Its disappearance marks a further progress in Indianisation.

The identity of the goddess on this type is difficult to determine. The mint masters have deliberately expunged her Roman name Ardoxsho. It is clear that they desired to identify her with an Indian deity, which was most probably Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu, whose mount Garuḍa appears on the standard on the obverse. She, however, has no peculiar symbols of that goddess, and we cannot exclude the possibility of the goddess being Durgā, who figured on the reverse of the coins of Chandragupta I, as indicated by her mount, the lion.

The king on the obverse is seen offering oblations at the altar. This was of course a motif borrowed from the coins of the late Kushāṇa type (see **Pl. I. 3-5**). It is however interesting to notice how the motif was gradually further and further Indianised. On some coins of Samudragupta (**Pl. I. 14, 15; II. 1**) the object in the king's hand is clearly seen to be a round *puroḍāśa* (sacrificial offering resembling a ball). The conventional altar, however, looks in some cases like a flower pot with a plant; it may have been a *tulasīvṛinadāvana* with that sacred plant (see **Pl. II. 5, 8, 9**). Tulasī is sacred to the followers of Vishṇu and the Guptas were undoubtedly

Vaishṇavas. Whether there was a deliberate intention to vary the motif, we do not know. In some cases the object looks like *Śiva-liṅga* with *Archā* (**Pl. VIII. 8**), but this resemblance is probably purely accidental.

To Samudragupta belongs the distinction of being the first Indian king to introduce a metrical legend on coins.[1] The Allahabad inscription describes how he had acquired the title of *kavirāja* (poet-laureate) on account of his excellent poems. Whether this was actually the case we do not know; for no poems of his have been handed down to us.[2] There can be, however, no doubt that the interesting decision to give the obverse legend in a metrical line must have been due to the poetic vein in the warrior king; we may presume that he himself was the author of at least some of the metrical hemistiches occurring on his coins.

The Allahabad inscription (l. 17) shows that *Parākrama* was the special *biruḍa* of Samudragupta and the legend *Parākramaḥ* and *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* occurring on the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types respectively must be taken as referring to him. On one of the Standard type coins of Samudragupta found at Bamnala in Indore state (now Madhyabharat state) the legend on the reverse is clearly *Śrī-Vikramaḥ* (**Pl. II. 10**). As the *biruda Vikrama* is so far known to occur only on the coins of Chandragupta II, and as the Allahabad inscription issued towards the end of his reign expressly states that *Parākrama* was the special *biruda* of Samudragupta, it is very likely that this solitary Standard type coin of the Bamnala hoard may be due to an accidental mistake committed early in the reign of Chandragupta II; the obverse die of the

1. Mr. Allan was the first to point out that many of the legends on the Gupta coins were metrical. The discovery of this fact facilitated very much the task of completing the fragmentary legends, or the legends where medial vowel marks were off the flan.
2. A *Kṛishṇacharitra* has been ascribed to him by some persons, but without sufficient evidence.

Standard type of the late king was by oversight used along with a reverse die of one of the varieties of the Archer type of the new king. This mistake must have been soon detected, and hence we have so far got only one coin of this type. If we do not assume the occurrence of such a mistake, we shall have to suppose that Samudragupta assumed the *biruda* of *Vikrama* along with *Parākrama*. This appears to be very improbable, for Gupta kings had usually one *biruda* only. We have, however, tentatively accepted the evidence of the Bamnala coin at its face value and included it among the Standard type coins of Samudragupta.

On a solitary gold coin of the late Kushāṇa type of very crude workmanship, we unexpectedly come across the legend *Samudra* under the king's arm (**Pl. II. 11**). There is no doubt that the coin belongs not to the Gupta series, but to the Late Kushāṇa series of the Punjab. There is a trident and not a *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the king; there is a solitary Brāhmī letter *śa* near the right foot of the king, as is to be seen on several other coins of this series (**Pl. I. 3, 4**). Outside the standard or spear, there is a perpendicular legend, read as *Gaḍahara* by Cunningham. Its reading, however, is uncertain, as the letters are interlocked with one another. The first letter *ga* is, however, definite.

The only plausible explanation that we can offer of this type is that it may have been issued by some Kushāṇa feudatory of Samudragupta. The Allahabad inscription describes how the Śaka and Kushāṇa chiefs attended upon him and prayed for charters confirming them in their dominions. One of them may have decided to show his loyalty by issuing coins with the name of the emperor in the place of honour and his own name or the name of his tribe outside the spear.

Samudragupta's Standard type is no doubt a close imitation of the Kushāṇa prototype. But this rare coin shows that it was in its turn imitated by some of his Kushāṇa feudatories

in the Punjab. Perhaps more coins of this type may have been issued; but unfortunately we have only one specimen handed down to us.

A large number of symbols occur on the Standard type in the upper left quadrant. In some cases however we get an additional symbol on right as well. The significance of these symbols is still unknown; see Chap. XIIA.

Well preserved coins of Chandragupta I all weigh about 120 grains and thus conform to the Kushāṇa and Roman weight standard. We have, however, several well-preserved coins of Samudragupta, some of which weigh 115 grains, some 118 grains and some 121 grains. They appear to have been issued to these three weight standards. A few rare coins of Samudragupta are seen to weigh only about 108 grains. We get such rare light coins in the case of all Gupta emperors. They are freak coins and represent no normal weight standard.

Three different types of *ma* are used on the Standard type coins, illustrated in **Pl. I. 14-15** and **II. 19.** We, however, sometimes see two of these forms, the so-called eastern and western ones together not only on the same piece but also on the same side; **Pl. I. 15.** This would show that all these forms were current, all over the Gupta empire. The nomenclature 'eastern' and 'western' is not strictly correct; see Chap. XIIC.

On the Standard type of Samudragupta, the king is always seen facing left. In *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII, Pl. I. fig. 5 a coin is, however, published, where the king is standing to *right* and offering oblations by his *left* hand. Gupta mint-masters could have issued no such coin, for Hindu tradition never permits the offering of sacred oblations by the *left* hand. We have reproduced this coin on **Pl. II. 4** and a glance at it will make it clear that the drawing in the *Asiatic Researches* is from the negative side of the normal coin.[1] There is no reason to

1. *J. N. S. I.*, XII. 116.

hold that the king was ever represented as standing to right on any coin of the Standard type.

The Standard type coins may be divided into three classes; class I where the *biruda* is *Parākrama*; class II where it is *Vikrama* and Class III, where we find the type imitated by a Kushāṇa feudatory of the emperor. Class III was not issued from the Gupta mints and class II may have been due to a mistake in the mint, as pointed out above at p. 43. Classes II and III are known from single specimens only.

In class I, we have distinguished seven varieties. In varirety A, the legend begins at XI and the name under the arm is simply *Samudra* (**Pl. I. 14.**). This is most common variety. In variety B, we have a crescent in addition near the king's head (**Pl. I. 15; II. 16**). Variety C is like variety A, but it is small in size and neat in execution, having a uniform weight and symbol (**Pl. II. 3**). Variety D is like variety A, but the king has a dagger by his side (**Pl. II. 6**). Only one coin of this type has so far come to light. In varieties E and F the legend begins on the left, but in variety E it is circular (**Pl. II. 5**), and in variety F, (**Pl. II. 2**) the legend on the right is in a straight line. In variety G the name of the king under the arm is *Samudragupta*, the last two letters being written outside the standard (**Pl. II. 8-9**). We now give below the full description of this type.

Obv: King standing l, nimbate, wearing earrings, necklace, armlets, close-fitting cap, coat and trousers. The coat is tailed and often shows several ornamental buttons. He is holding standard in l. hand and offering incense with the r. hand on an altar at his feet, behind which there is a standard decorated with fillet and surmounted by Garuḍa facing.

Beneath king's l. arm, written vertically, *Samudra*; outside the standard, *gupta*, on some coins.

Circular legend; *Samara-śata-vitata-vijayo jita-ripurajito*

divaṁ jayati; (**Pl. XX. 3.**) 'The invincible (king) who had won victories on a hundred battle fields and conquered the enemies, wins the heaven.' Metre; Upagīti.

Rev: Goddess (Lakshmī ?) nimbate, seated facing on throne with lathe-turned legs, wearing a *sārī*, a bodice, an upper garment, a necklace, armlets and a circular pearl-bordered ornament round the face. She holds cornucopiæ in l. hand and a noose in r. Her feet rest on a circular mat. Back of the throne is visible in most cases but not all its four legs. Border of dots all round.

Symbol always on l. but sometimes on r. also.

On r., *Parākramaḥ*; (**Pl. XXIII. 44**).

We now describe the different varieties of the Standard type.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 14.

CLASS I

(King facing left.)[1]

Variety A

(Legend beginning at I, and *Samudra* only under the left arm.)

(1) Gold.; .8".; 117.5 grains; *B. H.* Pl. II. 7.

Obv: The king is nimbate and the expression of his face is smart. Staff of the Garuḍa standard not visible. Circular legend, *Samaraśatavatata*; the legend on the left is off the flan. Standard has a pointed end like a javelin.

Rev: Back of the throne is visible. Legend, *Parākramaḥ*. (**Pl. I. 14**).

1. *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. I. 5-10, 12, 13, 16, 17; *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, Pl. II. 3-4.

Variety B

(As above, but with a crescent.)[1]

(2) Gold; .9″; 116.5 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. II. 1.

Obv: Crescent is above the *Garuḍadhvaja*, whose staff is visible. The standard has a round flat top and looks like a sceptre. Circular legend, on the right, *Samaraśatavata*, on the left at IX, *jatarapa*.

(Pl. II. 1)

Rev: All four legs of the throne are visible, as also its back which is too much inclined. Symbol on right also, consisting of a cluster of four dots. Legend, *Parākramaḥ*. (Not illustrated).

(3) Gold; .85″; 113.7 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. II. 12.

Obv: King wears high boots and a crescent is above his head. Legend, on r., *Samaraśama(ta)vata*, on l. *tavajaya jatarapara*. *Ma* is misengraved for *ta*, *va* has a round lower limb; *ma* of Samudra is in the eastern variety and *ma* of *samara* in the western one; thus two varieties occur on the same side. *Ma* on the reverse is in the western variety.

Rev: Legend, *Parākrama*, *ma* being in the western variety.

(Pl. I. 15)

(4) Gold; .8″; 116.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. II. 7.

Obv: Crescent above king's head. The obverse is double struck and shows two Garuḍa standards and two figures of the king. Traces of the circular legend of the first striking are faintly visible between the two Garuḍa standards. *Ma* under arms is of the eastern variety.

(Pl. II. 7)

Rev: Legend, *Parākramaḥ*, *ma* being of the western variety. (Not illustrated).

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2. There are 12 coins of this variety in the Bayana hoard and 4 in the *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. I. 1-4.

Variety C

(Same as above, but small in size)[1]

(5) Gold; .72″; 121.6 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. III. 2.

Obv: Circular legend, on the l., *Samaraśatavatata*, on r., *tarapurajito diva jayata.*

Rev: Folds of the *sārī* of the goddess are collected between her legs.

(Pl. II. 3)

Variety D

(Similar to variety A, but the king has a dagger.)

(6) Gold .85″; weight not known; from Ajit Ghose Collection; *N.S.*, XLVI, p. 23.

Obv: Legend is blurred. Dagger is to be seen hanging on the right side.

Rev: Not published.

(Pl. II. 6)

Variety E

(Similar to variety A, but the legend begins on l.)

(7) Gold: .9″; 119. 4 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. III. 12.

Obv: The object in l. hand looks like a sceptre. Three flames above the altar look like the branches of a plant; it may be *Tulasī-vṛindāvana.* Legend, on l. *Samaraśatavata*; on r., *tavaja(ya) jata.* Crack at IV.

Rev: Back of the throne not visible. Legend, *Parākrama.*

(Pl. II. 5.)

1. There are 18 coins of this variety in the Bayana hoard and two in in the *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. I. 14-15. The special circumstances that justified the attribution of these coins to a new variety were not clear at the time when the *B. M. C., G. D.*, was published.

Variety F

(Same as variety E, but the legend on r. is in straight line l.)[1]

(8) Gold; .8″; 118. 2 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. I. 11.

Obv: On l. *Samaraśa* truncated; on r., *tatavijayo ji* are in a straight line.

Rev: Legend, *Parākramaḥ.*

(Pl. II. 2)

Variety G

(As above, but king's name is full, *Samudragupta*)[2]

(9) Gold; .9″; 119.3 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. II. 4.

Obv: The altar looks like a flowerpot with a plant with three branches on either side. *Ma* of *Samudra* is of the eastern variety. Legend begins at VII, but the letters *Samaraśatavitata* are truncated; *vajayo* is clear at X; on r. *jatarapurajato dava.*

Rev: Back of the throne not visible. Legend, *Parākramaḥ.*

(Pl. II. 8)

(10) Gold; .85″; 122.3 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. II. 5.

Obv: Altar looks like a flowerpot. Legend on l. quite distinct, [*Sa*]*maraśatavatatata.*

Rev: As above, but blurred.

(Pl. II. 9)

CLASS II

(with the *biruda*, *Vikrama*)

(11) Gold; .8″; 112 grains; Bamnala hoard.[3]

Obv: Legend, [*Sa*]*maraśatavatata.*

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1. It is claimed that the coin published in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII. Pl. III. 3 has also the legend on the right in a straight line. The line however is more circular than straight. Otherwise that coin would have been a sub-variety of this type having the legend beginning on the r.
2. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. II. 1-5; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i. Pl. II. 5.; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 9.
3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V. Pl. IXa. 7.

Rev: Legend, *Śrīvikramaḥ*.

(Pl. II. 10)

CLASS III

(Issued by a Kushāṇa feudatory ?)

(13) Pale gold; size, .8″; weight, not recorded; *C.L.I.S.*, Pl. II. 11.

Obv: King, nimbate, with crude features, standing to l., wearing Kushāṇa coat and a flat hat surmounted by a circle with a dot flanked by two wing-like objects. The king holds standard in l. hand and offers incense over an altar by r. Behind r. hand, a trident. Under l. arm, *Samudra* written perpendicularly. Outside the spear another perpendicular legend read as *Gaḍahara* by Cunningham; this reading is, however, uncertain. To the l., near the king's right foot, *pa* or *pu*.

Rev: Goddess seated on high-backed throne. No legend.

(Pl. II. 11.)

A non-existing variety of the Standard type.

(Showing king standing to r.)

(14) Gold; .8′; weight not recorded; *Asiatic Researches*, XVII. Pl. 1, 5.

Obv: King standing to the r., holding standard in r. hand and offering oblations *by left hand* over an altar in his front. Garuḍa standard on r. (instead of l.); *Samudra* under r. arm (and not l.). Inverted letters of the legend on l.

Rev: Goddess seated on throne holding cornucopiæ in right hand and noose in left. Symbol on right (and not on left). Legend on left (and not on right) *Parākramaḥ* in inverted letters.

(Pl. II. 4.)

It is obvious that this variety was postulated wrongly owing to the failure to notice that the drawing of the coin was from the negative side.

ARCHER TYPE

The coins of the Archer type vary in size from .8″ to .9″ and in weight from 110 to 120 grains. Their recorded find-spots are Bharsar (Banaras district), Jaunpur, Bodhagaya and Bayana. There are three coins of this type in the Bayana hoard; the British Museum and the Indian Museum possess four each and the Lucknow Museum and the Ashmolean Museum only one.

The Archer type is an adaptation of the Standard type. The king is usually shown as holding a bow by the left hand and an arrow by the right. In this type, there is a conscious effort to Indianise the Standard type. The notion of a king offering oblations, while dressed in coat and trousers, was foreign to Hindu tradition. The motif was adopted from the Kushāṇa proto-type on account of the persistant conservatism, which is so characteristic of Indian numismatics. We, however, see the mint-masters gradually improving upon the prototype by representing the king as *dhanurdhara* or bowman in the case of the Archer type and as *Kṛitāntaparaśu* or wielder of the battle-axe of Kṛitānta, God of Death, in the case of the Battle-axe type. The obverse legend is a metrical one, and proclaims the king's conquest of the earth by his prowess and of the heaven by his good deeds. The *biruda* on the reverse is *Apratiratha*, matchless chariot-warrior. The emperor was obviously proud of this epithet, because we find him described as *prithivyāmapratiratha* also in his Allahabad inscription.

The Archer type persisted longest in the gold currency of the Guptas, and it became extremely popular in the reign of Chandragupta II. Samudragupta, however, appears to have issued only few coins of this type.

Ma of the eastern variety is more common on this type than that of the western one. This may suggest that the type

was more common in the eastern provinces, where the influence of the Kushāṇa numismatic tradition was naturally not very strong. But we cannot draw any safe conclusions from the form of *ma*, for we find both eastern and western forms of this letter on the same side of the same coin in some cases; see **Pl. I. 15.**

The coins of this type are usually divided into two classes. In Class I, the emperor is holding an arrow in the right hand; in class II he is offering oblations by that hand. No coins of Class II, however, have been illustrated, and they can no longer be traced. Three specimens of it are stated to have been found in the Bharsar hoard.[1] It is indeed strange that all the three coins of the Archer type of this hoard should have shown the king as offering oblations, and that it should have had no specimen of the usual type showing the king as holding an arrow. It may be pointed out that, if carelessly observed, a coin like **Pl. II. 12.** produces a fleeting impression that the king is offering oblations, the transverse fingers touching both arrow and the staff of the Garuḍa standard appearing like an altar. Whether the so-called altar on the Bharsar specimens was of this type, we do not know, as no photographs of theirs have been published and the coins are now untraceable. Since, however, the reverse legend is definitely stated to be *Parākramaḥ* and not *Apratirathaḥ*, we may perhaps presume that class II of the Archer type does exist. It represents a transition from the Standard type to the Archer type Class I. For, while the king is shown as holding a bow in the left hand, he is shown as offering oblations by the right, as on the Standard type.

In class I, we can distinguish two varieties based on the difference in the legend. In var. A, the legend reads *Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair divaṁ jayati* (**Pl. XX. 9**). In var. B the word *[m]avanīśo* (**Pl. XX. 10.**) supplants the word *sucharitaiḥ*. The reading *mavanīśo* is, however, conjectural. only its first

1. *J. A. S. B.* i, 1852, pp. 390-400.

two letters are visible and their reading is not distinct on the photographs published as yet. Only two coins of this variety are known so far.

We shall now give full description of this type.

Obv: King standing left, nimbate, dressed as on the Standard type, holding a bow with string inwards by l. hand, and r. hand either holding an arrow or offering oblations on altar. Garuḍa standard with fillets on l. in front of the king; crescent between the king's head and the banner in some cases. Legend, *Samudra* under the king's l. arm; circular legend, commencing at I, *Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair* (or *avaniśo*) *divaṁ jayati;* (**Pl. XX. 9.**) 'Having conquered the earth, the invincible one (or lord of the earth) wins heaven by meritorious deeds.' Metre, Uapagīti.

Rev: Goddess (Lakshmī ?) seated as on the Standard type, holding cornucopiæ in l. and noose in r. hand. Symbol on l. only. Legend, *Apratirathaḥ.*

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 3

CLASS I

Variety A

(With *sucharitaiḥ* in the legend)[1]

(1) Gold; .85″; 116.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IV. 1.

Obv: The king holds bow in l. hand and arrow in right. Note how a momentary impression of the altar is produced by the transverse fingers of the king touching both the arrow and the staff of the *garuḍa-dhvaja.* Legend, on r. truncated, *rathavaja* is visible between II and IV; on l. *sucharitairdivaṁ jayata. Ma* in *Samudra* is of the western variety.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IV. 1-7; *P.E.*, Pl. XXIII. 19; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889 p. 71; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852., pp. 395-400.

Rev: Back of the throne visible on the r. Legend, *Apratirathaḥ*. Symbol on l.

(Pl. II. 13.)

(2) Gold; .9″; 108.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. VI. 1.

Obv: *Ma* in *Samudra* is of the eastern variety. Legend on r., *Apratiratho vijitya kshata*; on l., off the flan.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. II. 14)

Variety B

(With *avaniśo* in the legend)[1]

(3) Gold; .9″; 118 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, IV. 6.

Obv: The king is apparently wearing shorts. A crescent above Garuḍa. *Ma* is of the eastern variety. Circular legend on l., *Apratiratho vajitya kshtamava.* (Pl. XX. 16.) Note that the last two letters of *vajayata* on the r. are slightly blurred, but *mava* is fairly distinct.

Rev: As above, but the cornucopiæ in l. hand is crudely engraved.

(Pl. II. 15.)

CLASS II

(4) Gold; size not known; weight of two coins was 110 grains and that of the third 114; Bharsar hoard.[2]

Obv: King as above, but offering oblations on altar by r. hand and not holding an arrow by it.

Rev: Legend, *Parākramaḥ*.

No coins of this class have been illustrated.

BATTLE-AXE TYPE

The coins of the Battle-axe type vary from .75″ to .85″ in diameter and from 111.8 to 123.4 grains in weight. The

1. *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i., Pl. II. 6; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 10. In both these cases, the letters *mava* are distinct.

2. *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, pp. 395-400.

average weight of good specimens is 118 grains. Kanauj, Banaras and Bayana are among the recorded findspots of this type. There are nine coins of this type in the British Museum, one in the Indian Museum, four in the Lucknow Museum and nine in the Bayana hoard.

On the obverse of this type, we have the king standing with battle-axe in his left hand. There is a dwarf in his front looking up to him, and a crescent-topped banner between them. The reverse shows the goddess seated upon a throne.

The epithet *Kṛitāntaparaśu* is given to Samudragupta in the inscriptions of his successors, but not in his Allahabad record. The latter inscription describes the king as a deity residing on the earth (l. 28) and compares him to Kubera, Varuṇa and Antaka or Kṛitānta. It is possible that the idea underlying this type may be to claim a kind of quasi-divinity to the king. It, however, appears more probable that the type was intended merely to emphasise the prowess of the king which is described to be as irresistible as that of Kṛitānta or the God of Death, and which enabled him to conquer the kings, till then regarded as invincible.

The scene on the obverse probably represents the king as taking the survey of a battle-field from a vantage point. On one specimen the dwarf is definitely represented as a fully accoutred soldier (**Pl. II. 15**).[1] Probably he has come to report the successful issue of the battle to his master, surveying and directing it from a point of vantage.

Further stages of the Indianisation of the reverse motif can be seen on this type. In majority of cases the goddess holds a cornucopiæ in the l. hand and a noose in the right. But on some specimens, the cornucopiæ is supplanted by the lotus; see **Pl. II. 15, III. 3-5.** It is clear that the mint-masters had decided to represent her as Lakshmī; they supply also a lotus footstool for her.

1. *N. Ch.* 1921, p. 321.

The coins of this type are divided into two classes,—class I having the king looking left and the attendent to the right (**Pl. II. 16, III. 1-5**) and class II being *vice versa* (**Pl. II. 15, 17.**). The coins of the latter class are very rare. In class I, several varieties may be distinguished. In variety A, which is most common, the name of the king *Samudra* is written under his left arm (**Pl. II. 16, III. 1**). In variety B, *Kṛi* is substituted for S*amudra* (**Pl. III. 2**); it is obviously an abbreviation of *Kṛitāntaparaśu.* In variety C, we have the full name of the king *Samudragupta, Samudra* being written between the king and the attendent and *gupta* under his left arm (**Pl. III. 4**). The goddess on the reverse holds a lotus bud in the left hand. In variety D, *Samudra* is written under the king's left arm and *gupta* outside the staff of the battle-axe (**Pl. III. 3**). Coins of the varieties B, C and D are rare.

We now give a full description of the type.

Obv: King standing l. or r., nimbate, dressed as in the Standard type, but usually with sword at the belt; r. hand rests on the waist, l. hand holds a *paraśu* (battle-axe); on l. or r. a dwarf attendant, standing before the king and looking up to him; crescent-topped banner between the two, with a dot within the crescent in some cases. Legend, commencing at I or VII; *Kṛitāntaparaśur-jayatyajitarājajetajitaḥ.* (**Pl. XX. 7.**) 'Wielding the battle-axe of Kṛitānta, the unconqured conqueror of (till then) unconquered kings, is victorious.' Metre, Pṛithvī.

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated on throne holding noose in r. hand and a cornucopiæ or lotus bud in l. Her legs rest on a lotus. Sometimes the back of the throne is visible and sometimes not. Sometimes the entire throne is invisible being apparently covered by the lotus, and is to be inferred from the posture of the feet of the goddess. The idea may have been

to represent the throne as lotus covered. Symbol on l., sometimes on r. also. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ*.

(**Pl. XXIII. 47.**)

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 8

CLASS I

(King looking to l. and attendant to r.)

Variety A.

(*Samudragupta* under the arm.)[1]

(1) Gold; .9″; 114.4 grains. *B.H.*, V. 6.

Obv: King's personality is majestic and imposing and sword by his side is distinct. A dot in the crescent. *Ma* of *Samudra* under arm is of the eastern variety. Circular legend begins at VII on l., *Kṛitāntaparaśurjayatya*; on r. traces of truncated letters.

Rev: Goddess holds lotus-bud in her l. hand. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ*.

(**Pl. II. 16.**)

(2) Gold; .8″; 116. 6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, IV. 8.

Obv: As above, but the legend begins at I. A dot in the crescent. *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ*.

Rev: Goddess holds cornucopiæ in l. hand. A small symbol on r. also above the back of the throne. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ*.

(**Pl. III. 5.**)

(3) Gold; .8″; 115. 5 grains; *B. H.*, V. 12.

Obv: (Sleeves of the king's coat are rolled up and ends of the diadem are visible behind his head.) Legend beginning at I, *Kṛitāntaparaśu*. Two cracks in the edge.

1. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. IV. 8-12, *I. M. C.*, Pl. XV. 9; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, Pl. I. 11.

Rev: Lotus under the feet of the goddess completely conceals her throne; it is to be inferred only from the posture of her feet. This is a transition stage, anticipating the *padmāsana* type of Chandragupta II.

(**Pl. III. 1.**)

Variety B

(*Kṛi* under l. arm.)[1]

(4) Gold; .85″; 113.2 grains; B. H., V. 13.

Obv: As above, but *Kṛi* under the l. arm. Circular legend on r. off the flan; on l. traces of *tarajajeta.*

Rev: As above, but the lotus under feet, though large, does not cover the throne. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ.*

(**Pl. III. 2.**)

Variety C

(With *Samudra* between the king and attendant and *gupta* under l. arm.)[2]

(5) Gold; .85″; 117.7 grains; *B. M. C., G. D.,* IV. 15.

Obv: No dot within the crescent. *Samudra* between the king and the attendant and *gupta* under king's l. arm. Circular legend; only faint traces visible on r.; on l., *tyajatarājajetajataḥ.*

Rev: Goddess holds lotus bud in l. hand. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ.*

(**Pl. III. 4.**)

Variety D.

(*Samudra* under l. arm and *Gupta* outside the staff.)

(6) Gold; .85″; 116.7 grains; *B. M. C., G. D.,* IV. 16.

Obv: King has no sword. *Samudra* under his l. arm and *gupta* outside the staff of the battle-axe. Legend on r. off; on l. *rajajatajata.*

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1. *B. M. C., G. D.,* IV. 13-14; *J. R. A. S.,* 1894, Pl. I. 12; one in Bayana hoard.
2. *B. M. C., G. D.,* IV. 15; *J. A. S. B.,* 1904, Pl. I. 1.

Rev: Goddess holds a lotus bud in l. hand. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśu.*

(**Pl. III. 3.**)

CLASS II

(King looking to r. and attendant to l.)[1]

(7) Gold; .8″; grains; *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-7., Pl. XXIII. (b)

Obv: King on left standing to r. with battle-axe in r. hand, left one resting on waist; dagger by his r. side; dwarf in his front, and the legend *Samudra,* blurred, between them. Circular legend, beginning at I, *Kṛitāntaparaśurjjayatya,* on the r. *rajajatajata.*

Rev: Goddess holds a lotus in l. hand and a noose in the right; legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśu.*

(**Pl. II. 17.**)

(8) Gold; .8″; weight not known; *N. Ch.*; 1921, p. 321 Pl. IX. 1.[2]

Obv: King as above, but he wears a necklace; the dwarf before him is a fully accoutred soldier apparently grasping the crescent banner; *Samudra* under l. arm is clear. Legend beginning at I; *Kṛitāntaparaśu;* on l. it is blurred and truncated.

Rev: Goddess as above.

(**Pl. II. 16.**)

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE

To celebrate his memorable victories in Northern and Southern India, Samudragupta performed an Aśvamedha

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1. Only four specimens of this type are known; two of them are published here. The third is published in *A. A.*, Pl. XVIII. 10. and the fourth is in Jaipur treasury collection. (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 48.)

2. The photograph is from a cast in the British Museum; the original coin belonged to the Swiney collection and is now lost. There is a coin of this type in the Punjab Museum also.

sacrifice, probably late in his reign. He took particular pride in the revival of this ritual and it is no wonder that he should have issued gold coins to commemorate this event in a fairly extensive quantity.[1] The coins of this type are fairly numerous. The British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Indian Museum and the Lucknow Museum possess seven, three, two and five pieces of this type repectively; *B. M. C., G.D.* refers to six more. The Bayana hoard contained twenty Aśvamedha coins.

The coins of the Aśvamedha type vary in size from .75″ to .9″ and in weight from 112.5 grains to 119 grains. The average weight of a normal coin is 115 in some cases and 118 in others. They have been found from Patna to Saharanpur.

The obverse design of the Aśvamedha type shows the sacrificial horse standing before a decorated *yūpa* (sacrificial post) enclosed within a platform; a penon is flying over it from the top of the *yūpa*. The reverse shows the crowned queen standing on a circular pearl-bordered mat,[2] with *chouri* in r. hand and towel in l. There is a spear-like object in her front.

The Aśvamedha coins are among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India. The horse on the obverse looks noble and graceful and seems to be resigned to its impending doom. The figure of the queen is slim and graceful; her attitude is one of alertness, as befits her role in the sacrifice. Obviously the best artists were selected to cut the dies and they were fully conscious of the importance of the event they were called upon to commemorate on the imperial coins.

1. He appears to have later adopted the Aśvamedha device for his seal also. Rapson is probably right in ascribing to Samudragupta the clay seal in the British Museum, which shows a horse tied to a post in the upper half and has the legend *Parākrama* in the lower half; *J. R. A. S.*, 1901. p. 102, Pl. 3.

2. On some coins *e. g.* **Pl. III. 6.** it looks like a lotus, but it is probably a mat with a lotus design.

The horse on all the coins is uncaparisoned. In rare cases, however, a strap is shown round its neck (**Pl. III. 8**). On some specimens (**Pl. III. 11-12**) beads are pleated into its mane; this was in accordance with the directions of the sacred texts which require a hundred golden beads to be strung on the head in the mane and in the tail of the doomed horse.[1] The coins, however, nowhere show the beads strung in the tail. In addition to the beads strung in the mane, some coins show a string of beads a little above the back of the horse (**Pl. III. 7, 9, 10**). Probably it is merely a decorative motif, suggested no doubt by the pleating of the horse's hair by beads enjoined in the Vedic texts.

Every coin shows the letter *si* under the standing horse; it is obviously an abbreviation of the word *siddhaṁ*. The platform on which the horse is shown as standing is the *vedī* or altar; the base of the *yūpa* (sacrificial post) to which it was tied, is usually seen partly within the altar and partly outside it. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VI. 6. 4.) states that if the *yūpa* was fixed entirely within the *vedī*, the sacrificer will win only the world of gods, if it was completely outside the *vedī*, he will win the world of men, but that if it was partly within and partly outside the *vedī*, the sacrificer will win both the worlds. The mint-masters were obviously anxious that the emperor should win both the worlds; hence they have usually shown the *yūpa* as partly within and partly outside the *vedī*. In a few cases, owing obviously to artistic considerations, they have shown the *yūpa* as connected with the *vedī* by a perpendicular line (**Pl. III. 10**). On some rare coins there appears to be a low pedestal above the platform of the *vedī* (**Pl. III. 12**). Mr. Allan is inclined to think that this object may be the slab of gold on which the *hotṛi* sat.[2] One however fails to understand

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1. अभ्रश्यमानान्मणीन्सौवर्णानेकशतमेकशतं केशपुच्छेषु आवयन्ति भूर्भुवः स्वरिति । *Kātyāyana Śr. Sū.* 23. 8. The commentator adds:—भूरिति महिषी अश्वस्य शिरोरोमसु भुव इति वावाता ग्रीवारोमसु स्वरिति परिवृक्ता पुच्छरोमसु ।
2. *B. M. C., G. D.*, p. lxxvii.

why it should be shown as placed under the horse. The nature of this pedestal is still a mystery.

In their representation of the *yūpa*, the Gupta engravers were moved partly by artistic considerations and partly by a regard for the sacred texts. In every case the *yūpa* is shown as having a base or platform usually in two tapering steps. This is not required by the sacred texts; they on the other hand lay down that the ground round the *yūpa* was to be made smooth and even by being beaten down.[1] Artistic considerations, however, dictated that the *yūpa* should have a proper platform and the mint-masters were bent upon supplying it, whether the sacred texts permitted it or not.

Penons of cloth flying from the top of the *yūpa* are also obviously due to the artistic impulse of the mint-masters. The Vedic texts do not require them, but we find the *Rāmāyaṇa* describing how each of the twenty-one *yūpas* erected at the time of the Aśvamedha of king Daśaratha were decorated with a piece of cloth.[2]

In other details of *yūpa*, the mint-masters closely followed the requirements of the sacred texts. The coins being small, the staff of the *yūpa* was not big enough to be shown as eight-cornered. But it is shown as bent both in the middle and at the top, as required by the Vedic texts.[3] The *yūpas* are all duly provided with a *raśanā* (girdle), which is seen tied near their middle with its two ends hanging down. That direction of the sacred texts which enjoins[4] that the two ends of the *raśanā* should

1. ब्रह्म वनित्वा इति पांसुभिः पर्यूहति ।
Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, vi, 3, 3. The commentator says, कुट्टनेन च पांसूनवटेड्घः प्रवेशयेत् ।
2. शोभार्थं तस्य यज्ञस्य काञ्चनालंकृता भवन् । एकविंशतिरूपास्ते एकविंशत्यरत्नयः । वासोभिरेकविंशद्भिरेकैकं समलंकृताः । *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 14. 22.
3. अथ य एष आनत उपरिष्टादुपनतो मध्ये सोऽत्राद्यस्य रूपं तस्मात्तादृशमनाद्यकामः कुर्वीत । *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 7. 3. 2.
4. यूपशकलमस्यामवगूहति । *Kātyāyana Śr. Sū.* VI. 3. 13.

be tied togther enclosing the *yūpaśakala*[1] was perhaps difficult to be complied on the coin device, as the coins were too small. The mint-masters have, however, duly shown the *chashāla* or the wooden ring with which the *yūpa* was adorned near its end. It is denoted by two dot-like objects to be seen near the upper curved end of the *yūpa* almost on all specimens. *Chashāla* was narrow at the centre[2] and so it is represented by two contiguous dots, the space between them showing its narrow centre.

The obverse legend on this type had been read by Mr. Allan as *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīmavitvā divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ.*[3] The concluding letters however were not distinct on any specimen published by him. In 1914 a new coin was discovered, on which Dr. Venis detected the traces of the letters *ta*, *va*, *ja*, *ma* and *dha* at the end; he therefore restored the legend in its concluding portion as *divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ.*[4] Several specimens are now discovered in the Bayana hoard where the concluding word *vājimedhaḥ* is absolutely clear (**Pl. III. 6.**). We must therefore hold that the legend ends with *divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ.*

Mr. Allan has pointed out that on one specimen of Dr. Hoey and on another coin in the Bodleian collection the first line ended with *prithivīṁ vijitya*. Neither specimen has been illustrated. On one coin in the Bayana hoard, however, after the word *prithivīṁ*, we have clear traces of *ja*, *ta*, *da* and *va* (**Pl. III. 9**). It is therefore clear that on some coins of this type, the legend was engraved as *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīṁ vijitya divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ.*

1. *Yūpaśakala* was a small piece of the branch of the tree from which the *yūpa* was cut out.
2. अग्राच्चषालं पृथामात्रं अष्टाश्रि मध्यमसंगृहीतम् ।
   Kātyāyana Śr. Sū. VI. 127. 8.
3. *B. M. C., G. D.*, p. 21.
4. *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, p. 205.

The queen on the reverse is shown as holding a *chourī* in her right hand, which rests on her right shoulder and a piece of cloth or towel in the left, which hangs down by her side. The queen was required to fan and wash the horse,[1] and so she naturally has a *chourī* and a towel with her. On the coin published in *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. V. 14. Mr. Allan thinks that there is probably a gourd near the feet of the queen. The object is very indistinct on the plate. If it was really a gourd, it would obviously refer to the queen's duty to wash the horse. On no coin, however, is she shown as carrying a pitcher in her hand as required in the Vedic texts, probably because this part of the job was actually done by menial servants. The queen was regarded as having done her appointed duty when she washed the horse, as others poured the water, and then cleansed it with a towel.

The pointed staff before the queen has been interpreted as a standard or a sacrificial spear.[2] It has, however, no flag at its top and so cannot be regarded as a standard. It undoubtedly looks pointed like a spear, but the latter weapon was not required in the sacrifice. After the horse was killed, the sacred texts lay down that the three queens were to extensively puncture its body by *sūchīs* or needles in order to facilitate the passage of the sword into its body. The crowned queen was to use a golden needle, the favourite one a silver one and the discarded one a copper one.[3] It appears that the spear-like object before the queen is this 'needle'; its circular appendages may have been intended to enable the queen to grasp it firmly when piercingthe tough skin of the horse. To us this appears to be the most plausible explanation of the object in front of the queen.

We now describe the Aśvamedha coin type.

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1. धावित्रैरुपवीजयंति । पात्रेजनहस्तां वाचयति । *Kāt. S. S.* VI. 6. 1.
2. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889. p. 65; *B. M. C., G. D.*, p. 21.
3. तिस्रः पत्न्यः असिपंथान्कल्पयंति अश्वस्य सूचिभिस्ताम्रराजतसौवर्णीभिः मणिसंख्याभिः । *Kātyāyana Śr. Sū.* XX. 7. Com. says, अश्वस्य शरीरे असेः सुखेन प्रवेशार्थं सूचिभिर्वितुद्य तनुं जर्जरां कुर्युः ।

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE[1]

Obv: Uncaparisoned horse, in some cases with a strap on the neck, to l. before the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) adorned with a pedestal; penon flies over the horse from the top of the post. The mane of the horse is sometimes plaited, and there is a string of beads and a crescent above the back in some cases. Beneath the horse is the letter *si*, and below also a pedestal in some rare cases. Circular legend, commencing at XII, IX or VI, *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīmavitvā* (or *vijitya*) *divaṁ jayatyāhṛita-vājimedhaḥ*, (**Pl. XX. 4-5**). 'The king of kings, who had performed the Vājimedha (Aśvamedha) sacrifice, wins heaven after protecting (or conquering) the earth.
Metre, Upajāti.

Rev: The crowned queen (Dattadevī) standing to l. on a pearl-bordered circular mat, dressed in a *sārī* and bodice; earrings, necklace, armlets and anklets on her person; she holds a *chourī* over her right shoulder in her right hand and a towel in her l. hand, hanging by her side. In her front is an ornamental *sūchi* bound with fillet. On some coins, the ends of the *sārī* look like a rope round the feet. No symbol. Legend; *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* (**Pl. XXIII. 45**). 'One powerful enough to perform Aśvamedha sacrifice.'

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 7

(1) Gold; .92″; 115.7 grains; *B. H.*, IV. 6.

Obv: Mane of the horse is pleated; a string of beads above its back. Legend begins at XI, *Rajadharāja prithava-avatva dava ja*, on left at IX, *vajamedha;* indistinct

1. *B. M. C.*, Pl. V, 9-14; *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i. Pl. II, 9; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 4; *A. A.*, Pl. XVIII, 2; *P. E.*, Pl. XXIII, 31; *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 478.

traces of the legend below the platform. Note that the last letters of the legend *vajamadha* (*vājimedha*) are distinct. Some letters are truncated.

Rev: Queen's figure is slim and graceful. The carpet under her feet somewhat resembles a lotus. Legend, *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.*

(**Pl. III. 6.**)

(2) Gold; .87″; 111 grains; *B. H.*, IV. 13.

Obv: String of beads is above the horse. *Vedī* is connected with the *yūpa* by a perpendicular line. Legend begins at VIII and the concluding letters are below the horse; as we read, *ha* is to l. of the crack, and *tavajamadha* to its r. Faint traces of some other truncated letters.

(**Pl. III. 10.**)

Rev: As above.

(Not illustrated.)

(3) Gold; .87″; 113.3 grains; *B. H.*, IV. 12.

Obv: Mane of the horse is pleated and there is a string of beads above it. No crescent above the back of the horse. Legend begins at VIII, *Rājādhirāja pṛithavamavatva dava jaya.*

Rev: The object under the queen's feet is distinctly a pearl- or bead-bedecked carpet. Legend, *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.*

(**Pl. III. 7.**)

(4) Gold; .8″; 114.8 grains; *B. H.*, V. 4.

Obv: Strap round the neck of the horse. Legend begins at V, *Rajadharaja pṛithava.*

Rev: Queen is short statured; mat is pearl-bordered. Legend, *Aśvamedhaparakrama*. Subscript of *Kra* is almost joined to the vertical of *ra.*

(**Pl. III. 8.**)

(5) Gold; .8″; 115.2 grains; *B. H.*, V. 1.

Obv: Legend begins at IX but is off the flan on left. From XII, we have *juta dava ja*. Here the legend probably reads *(vi)jitya divaṁ ja*. *Ju* is an engraver's mistake for *ji* and as there was no space for the subscript *ya* of *tya* owing to the bulge in the penon, the engraver has engraved only *t* instead of *tya*.[1]

(**Pl. III. 9.**)

Rev: Queen is rather short statured. Legend, *Aśvamedha-parākramaḥ*.

(Not illustrated)

(6) Gold; .84″; 115.1 grains; *B. H.*, V. 2.

Obv: Crescent above the haunch of the horse. Legend begins at VIII; from XI, *mavata dava jayatyahṛita*. Crack across the *yūpa* and the face of the horse.

(**Pl. III. 11.**)

Rev: As above.

(Not illustrated.)

(7) Gold; .8″; 115 grains; *N. Chr.*, 1891, Pl. II. 2.

Obv: Strap round the neck of the horse. Pedestal below *si*[2] and above the altar (*vedī*). Legend, beginning at XII, *Rajadharaja pṛitha*.

(**Pl. III. 12.**)

Rev: Legend, *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*.

(Not illustrated)

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE

The Tiger-slayer type is one of the rarest types of Samudragupta, only six coins having been found so far. Two of them were found in the Bayana hoard; the findspots of others are not

1. Mr. Allan states "On a specimen in the Bodleian and on Dr. Hoey's specimen, the first line ends with *prithivīṁ vijitya*. *B.M.C.*, *G. D.*, p. 21, n. 1. These coins however are not illustrated.
2. *I. M. C.* Vol. I, Pl. XV. 3 publishes a similar coin but the pedestal below *si* is not quite distinct. Only two coins are so far discovered of this type.

known. Their size is .85″ and their weight varies from 117 to 111 grains. The British Museum and the Lucknow Museum have two and one coins respectively of this type; Hoey's collection had one specimen. The coin giving the lowest weight is, however, worn out. The average weight of good specimens is 115 grains.

On the obverse of the Tiger-slayer type, the king stands to left and tramples upon and shoots at a tiger by his bow. Between the king and the tiger there is a crescent-topped banner. On the reverse, there is the goddess Gaṅgā, standing on a crocodile, holding a full blown lotus in left hand, right hand being empty. In her front also there is a crescent-topped banner.

The Tiger-slayer type is artistically very beautiful and the representation of the scene is very effective. The king's position is graceful, natural and yet energetic. The close fitting garments reveal the well-built muscular body of the great emperor, The type shows no foreign influence whatsoever; the coat and trousers are replaced by their Indian counterparts; the throned goddess on the reverse gives place to the Gaṅgā, whose figure is slender and graceful.

The type, therefore, presupposes considerable numismatic experience and was probably issued in the latter part of the regin of Samudragupta. It served as the prototype for the Lion-slayer type, which became so popular in the subsequent reigns.

The identity of the Goddess on the reverse is not quite free from difficulty. Smith thought that the aquatic mount (*vāhana*) would suggest that she is the wife of Varuṇa, the god being suggested by the king's name Samudra. He also suggested that she may be, Rati consort of Kāma, as her *vāhana* is a kind of fish or *makara.*[1] The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, however, figure frequently in Gupta art and since *makara*, the *vāhana* of the deity on the reverse, is identical with that of the Gaṅgā, we may conclude that the deity is intended to be that river. She no doubt holds a lotus in her hand, but it appears that it had not been exclusively associated with Lakshmī during this period.

1. *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, p. 177.

The posture of the Gaṅgā on the reverse of this type closely resembles that of the queen on the Aśvamedha type. The figures of both are slim and graceful. There is no symbol on the reverse of both the types. Probably the types were contemporary.

The reverse legend on the variety A, *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ*, which gives no imperial title to the issuer, has given rise to various speculations. Smith once thought that it was issued by Samudragupta during the life time of his father;[1] Jayaswal believed that the coin was issued during the short period when the Guptas were once more reduced to the feudatory position by the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I.[2] There can, however, be no doubt that the coin was issued late in Samudragupta's reign. The reverse legend gives the simple title *rājā* to the king, because the numismatic convention prescribed only a short legend on that side. The reverse legends on the couch type of Samudragupta and the Swordsman type of Kumārgupta I are shorter still; they omit all titles and describe the issuers by their simple names, *Samudraguptaḥ* and *Śri Kumārguptaḥ*. No regal title occurs either on the obverse or on the reverse legend of the swordsman type of Kumāragupta I. Are we therefore to conclude that he was not even a feudatory when the type was issued ?

Two varieties can be distinguished in this type, variety A having the same legend *Vyāhgraparākramaḥ* on both the sides and variety B, substituting *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ* on the reverse.

We give below the full description of the type.

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE[3]

Obv: King standing to l. wearing a turban, short jacket and a close-fitting *dhotī;* necklace, earrings and

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 65.
2. *History of India*, p. 118.
3. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. II. 14-15; *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i. Pl. II. 10; 1894, i, Pl. VI. 2; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 2.

armlets on his person; he tramples on a tiger attacking him, which falls back as he shoots it with bow in r. hand, l. hand stretching the bow-string to the ear; on l. behind the tiger, crescent-topped standard adorned with fillet as on the Battle-axe type. Circular legend, *Vyāghraparākramaḥ*, 'Valiant like a tiger.'

(**Pl. XX. 8.**)

Rev: Goddess Gaṅgā standing on a *makara* (elephant-headed fish) wearing a *sārī* and close-fitting bodice, earrings, necklace, armlets and anklets on her person; full-blown lotus in l. hand, r. hand outstretched and empty; on the l. crescent-topped banner with fillets; border of dots. No symbol. Legend, as above, or *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ*. 'King Samudragupta.'[1]

(**Pl. XXIII. 48.**)

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

Variety A[1]

(1) Gold; .8″; 119 grains; *B. H.*, VI. 10.

Obv: The figure of the king is graceful and he is trampling the tiger on its tail. Legend is truncated, traces of *vyāghra* and *ra* are however visible on r. The tiger is shown as collapsing. The coin is a much better preserved specimen than *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. II. 15.

Rev: Legend, *Vyāghraparākramaḥ*.

(**Pl. III. 13.**)

Variety B[2]

(2) Gold; .85″; 116.6 grains; *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. II. 14.

Obv: As above; legend on r., *Vyāghraparākramaḥ*, partly truncated.

Rev: Legend, *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ*.

(**Pl. III. 14.**)

1. *B. M. C., G. D.*, II. 15.
2. *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, Pl. II. 10.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 2.

LYRIST TYPE

The coins of the Lyrist type are rather rare. Of its larger variety, called A, the British Museum possesses five specimens, the Indian Museum two, and the State Museum Lucknow also the same number. The Bayana hoard had two specimens of this variety. The coins of the smaller variety, called B, are equally rare. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, refers to three specimens, four were found in the Bayana hoard and one in the Bamnala hoard. The size of the coins of the variety A is .85″; that of the variety B is .75″. The coins of the variety A, though large, are lighter in weight, the weight varying from 111 to 117 grains. The coins of the variety B, though small, vary in weight between 119 and 121 grains.

The obverse of the Lyrist type shows the king seated upon a cushioned couch and playing upon a lyre (*vīṇā*) resting on his lap. The reverse shows the goddess seated to left on a wicker stool, holding noose in the right hand and cornucopiæ in the left.

The conception and execution of the Lyrist type is completely original; save for the presence of the cornucopiæ in the hand of the goddess, it shows no trace of any Kushāṇa influence. His Majesty is represented as seated on a high-backed couch playing on a lute. He wears hardly any dress on his torso; probably the idea was to represent the emperor as seated on the terrace of his palace in a summer evening and engaged in spending his rare leisure hours in the pastime of music, which was one of his favourite hobbies. This type provides a numismatic corroboration of the claim of the Allahabad inscription that Samudragupta could excel even Nārada and Tumburu in his musical skill.

The lute of Samudragupta is markedly different from its modern counterpart, which has a straight, long and narrow sounding board with a gourd at one or both ends. The lute of this type goes back to the Pāla sculptures. The lute of Samudra-

gupta, which had a hollow belly covered with a board of seven strings, is similar to this instrument as we find it in early sculptures at Bharhut, Besnagar and Amaraoti.[1]

The letter *si*, occuring on the pedestal of variety A, is most probably an abbreviation of *siddham*; and since this letter occurs on the Aśvamedha coins of the present ruler, it may be suggested that it refers to some auspicious occasion or event with which the issue of this type was connected. It is likely that both the types were issued on the occasion of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. During the course of this ritual a *rājanya* (Kshatriya) lute-player has to sing three *gāthās* (songs) composed by himself to the notes of the lute describing the sacrificer's valour.[2] It is of course improbable that Samudragupta would have played this part himself, but it is likely that this incident in the Aśvamedha sacrifice along with the emperor's known predilection for music must have been responsible for the introduction of this type in the coinage.

The reverse motif of this type, Goddess or a female seated on a wicker stool, is rather an unusual motif in the Hindu art, but it may be due to the mint-master's desire to introduce a new variation in the posture of the deity. Smith points out that this type is an exact copy of Demeter as represented on a rare coin from Paros island in the British Museum;[3] but unless it is shown that this rare coin-type or its imitation was well known in India, we cannot accept the view that the Gupta mint-masters are copying a foreign type in the present case. The reverse motif of this type became subsequently popular; it is to be seen on the Horseman types of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I.

The legend on one coin of this type is distinctly *Sarmudraguptaḥ* (**Pl. III. 15**). Mr. Allan has suggested that it may be due to the mint-master proceeding to engrave through carelessness

1. *J. A. O. S.*, 1930, p. 244.
2. *S. Br.*, XIII. 4. 3. 5.
3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 24.

the reverse legend of the Kācha type, *Sarvarājochchhettā*, and realising his mistake, when the second letter was engraved and then proceeding to convert a *rva* into a passable *mu*. It is an ingenious suggestion but presupposes that the Kācha type was issued by Samudragupta himself. It is however more probable that Kācha was different from and later than Samudragupta, as will be shown on pp. 81-7.

Lyrist type divides itself into two varieties. Variety A consists of thin, large and artistic pieces, struck in singularly low relief. They have footstool on the obverse below the king's feet, but no symbol on the reverse. Coins of variety B are thick and small and poor in artistic merit. They show a symbol on the reverse but no footstool on the obverse.

There are some indications to show that the coins of the variety A were struck at the capital. Majority of them were found in Oudh and Banaras and the letter *ha* is engraved upon them in the eastern variety. Most of the coins of the variety B were found in outlying places of the empire, one in Alwar, four in Bayana and one in Bamnala (Central India). The letter *ma* on them shows the form of the western variety. These however are not convincing arguments. Gold coins easily travel long distances and the indications of the eastern and western forms of letters are not conclusive. On some Standard coins of Samudragupta, we have already seen how both the eastern and western forms of *ma* appear on the same piece. It is however not unlikely that the coins of the variety B were issued from mints in outlying provinces and those of the variety A from the mint in the capital. Good artists could be more easily procured for the latter than the former.

We now describe the type.

LYRIST TYPE

Obv: King nimbate, seated cross-legged to l. wearing waist-cloth pearl-bordered cap (in some cases), necklace, earrings and armlets, on a couch with high

and cushioned back, playing lute (*vīṇā*) resting on his lap; a pedestal beneath the couch inscribed with *si* in variety A only. Legend (beginning at XII) *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptaḥ*, (**Pl. XX. 1.**) Samudragupta, overlord of kings.

Rev: Goddess (Lakshmī) nimbate, seated to l. on a wicker stool, wearing a bodice, *sārī* and upper garment (in some cases); necklace, earrings, armlets and anklets on her person; noose in r. hand and cornucopiæ in the l. Symbol in variety B, but not in variety A. Legend on the left, usually separated by a line, *Samudraguptaḥ*. (**Pl. XXIII. 46.**)

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 3

Variety A

(Large Size)[1]

(1) Gold; .85″; 110 grains. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. V. 1.

Obv: All four legs of the couch are visible; its back shows the cotton stuffing. King wears a cap and there is a footstool below the couch. Legend beginning at XII; on l. *Mahārājādhirāja śrī sa*, on r. traces of *mudrāguptaḥ*.

Rev: The wicker stool has artistic bands. No symbol. Legend, *Sarmudraguptaḥ*, *rmu* being a mistake for *mu*. (**Pl. III. 15.**)

(2) Gold; .85″; 119.5 grains. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. V. 3.

Obv: As above. *Gaddī* on the couch is shown as depressed by the body of the king, who is wearing a cap. The back of the couch has bead-border on one side. Three strings of the lute are visible. Legend, on r. *Mahārājādhirāja*, on l., *Samudraguptaḥ*, partly truncated.

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1. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. V. 1-7; *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, Pl. II. 7; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889. Pl. I, 5.

Rev: No symbol. Footstool under the couch. Legend, *Samudraguptaḥ*.

(**Pl. III. 16.**)

Variety B

(Small size)[1]

(3) Gold; .75″; 119.1 grains; *B. H.*, VI. 8.

Obv: The king is bare-headed and his hair is flowing down in three tresses. No footstool under the couch. Legend begins at I; *Mahā*...on r. at VII *Samudraguptaḥ*, partly truncated.

Rev: Symbol in the upper left quadrant. Legend, *Samudraguptaḥ*.

(**Pl. III. 17.**)

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1. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. V. 8; *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, Pl. IX, 7; *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, Pl. II. 8; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 6.

CHAPTER V

COINAGE OF KĀCHA

The coins of Kācha were issued in one type only and their size varies from 75″ to .85″ and weight from 111 to 118 grains. His coins were issued apparently to two weight-standards, one of 115 grains and the other of 118 grains. The coins of this ruler are not quite rare. There are seven coins of his in the British Museum, three in the Indian Museum and five in the Lucknow Museum; the Bayana hoard contained sixteen. Jaunpur, Tanda and Bayana are among the known findspots of the coins of this ruler.

The type of Kācha closely resembles the Standard type of Samudragupta. On the obverse of both we find the king standing to left and offering oblations on altar. But while Samudragupta has an ordinary standard in his left hand, Kācha has a *Chakradhvaja* or wheel-topped banner. The reverse, however, shows a remarkable variation; for on the coins of Kācha, we find the goddess standing to left and holding a flower in her right hand; she is not shown as seated on the throne as on the coins of the Standard type of Samudragupta.

The attribution of the coins of Kācha is still uncertain. The name of this ruler does not occur anywhere in the official Gupta genealogies. It is, however, generally agreed that he has to be assigned to the early Gupta period, for his coins are found only in the hoards of Gupta coins and are usually associated with those of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Thus the Tanda hoard consisted of the coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Kācha. In the small hoard found at Ballia, only the coins of Samudragupta and Kācha were present. The big Bayana hoard of 1821 coins contained not a single coin of a non-Gupta ruler, and still it

had 16 coins of Kācha. It therefore appears probable that Kācha was a Gupta ruler, though we cannot exclude the possibility of his being an upstart, who usurped power either at the death of Chandragupta I or during the temporary absence of Samudragupta in the south.

It is generally agreed that Kācha was an early Gupta ruler, but his identity is a matter of great dispute. The early view advocated by Prinsep and Thomas was that Kācha should be identified with Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I. This view, however, is now no longer advocated. Ghaṭotkacha was a mere feudatory and he could hardly have issued any coins. On most of the coins, the King's name is also spelt distinctly as Kācha and not as Kacha, and it is hardly possible that the name Ghaṭotkacha could have been contracted into Kācha.

At present there are two main views about the attribution of the Kācha coins. According to one school Kācha was identical with Samudragupta; according to the other he was different from him and may have been either his brother or his son. The evidence is unfortunately not sufficiently conclusive to prove any of these views. How evenly balanced are the arguments in this controversy can be understood when we note how a scholar like V.A. Smith veered from one view to another more than once.[1]

In favour of the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta it can be pointed out that:—

(a) The average weight of his coins is the same as that of the other types of Samudragupta, *viz.*, about 116 grains;

1. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, pp. 75-76, Smith advocated the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta; in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893 p. 95 he accepted Rapson's view that the two were different; in *I. A.* 1902 pp. 259-60 we find him veering to his earlier view that the two were identical. Fleet and Allan accept the identity of the two persons. *C. I. I.* ,III, p. 27; *B. M. C., G. D.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

(b) His obverse legend *Kācho gāmavajitya Karmabhir-uttamair-divaṁ jayati* is merely a paraphrase of the obverse legend *Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair divaṁ jayati*, occurring on the Archer type of Samudragupta;

(c) The reverse of his coins is closely similar to that of the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta;

(d) The reverse legend on the Kācha coins, *sarvarājochchhettā* is an epithet invariably given to Samudragupta alone in the Gupta records;[1]

(e) And the difference in name need not be an insuperable obstacle in the identity of the two rulers. Both Devagupta and Chandragupta are known to have been the names of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya; in the same way Kācha may have been the original and familiar name of Samudragupta, the latter title being adopted by him when the Gupta empire eventually extended to the bay of Bengal.

The above arguments are not however conclusive. Thus argument (a) can only show that Kācha cannot be later than the time of Chandragupta II, when the average weight of the Gupta gold coins went up to 124 grains. Argument (b) is also inconclusive; for mere paraphrasing of a legend need not prove identity. The legend in question occurs in almost the same form on the swordsman type of Kumāragupta I, where it reads as *Gāmavajitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*. Surely we cannot argue that Kumāragupta I is identical with Kācha or Samudragupta because of the above striking resemblance in the wording of the legends. Argument (c) can only show that Kācha coins

1. In the Poona and Rithpur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, *sarvarājochchhetā* is given as an epithet of Chandragupta II. These plates betray gross carelessness; for instance, they describe Chandragupta I and even Samudragupta as mere Mahārājas; we need not therefore conclude that the title *sarvarājochchhetā* was really used of any ruler other than Samudragupta merely on the strength of these Vākāṭaka records.

were issued soon after the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta; they may have been struck by him or by his successor or rival.

Arguments (d) and (e) are weighty; they render it probable that Samudragupta may have had like Chandragupta II, two names, and both may have been used on his coinage; the epithet of Kācha, *sarvarājochchheṭṭā* would show that he is to be identified with Samudragupta to whom alone it is given in the official Gupta inscriptions. Samudragupta may have had an additional name Kāchagupta, just as his son Chandragupta had a second familiar name, Devagupta.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive, and we are inclined to think it more probable that Kācha was different from Samudragupta. Chandragupta had no doubt another familiar name, *viz.* Devagupta. But he never allowed it to appear on his coinage. One may wonder whether Samudragupta would have permitted his familiar name to appear on his coins, supposing he had one such. *Sarvarājochchhettā* was no doubt made a special title of Samudragupta, but only by later Gupta records. Samudragupta himself did not adopt that title, and there is nothing impossible in its being adopted by an immediate successor of the great emperor, prior to its being assigned to him by his later successors.

The following arguments tend to show that Kācha was different from Samudragupta—

(1) Gupta emperors have used different *biruḍas* on the obverse and reverse of their coins; but as far as the personal proper name is concerned, it is one and the same for each ruler, and it occurs under his arm. This circumstance would render it very probable, but not certain that Kācha, which occurs under the arm of the issuer, is his personal name and that he is, therefore, different from Samudragupta, who generally puts his own name Samudra or Samudragupta at the same place.

(2) *Chakradhvaja* of Kācha is quite peculiar to him and occurs on nobody else's coins. This gives a particular individuality to Kācha and suggests,—but does not prove,—that Kācha is quite distinct from other known Gupta emperors, who do not put this banner on their coins.

(3) If Kācha were identical with Samudragupta, his *Chakradhvaja* should have occured on some other types of Samudragupta. It is, however, inexplicably confined only to this type.

(4) Similarly it is difficult to explain why Kācha, the familiar name of Samudragupta, should be confined to the Chakradhavaja type, and why it should occur on none of his other numerous types like the Standard or the Archer type, where the name is engraved under the arm.

The assumption that Kācha was different from Samudragupta does not however solve the problem; it only renders it more complicated, as no such Gupta ruler is known either to epigraphy or to literature. Several official Gupta genealogies have been handed down to us; they are, however, unaware of any such ruler.

R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Kācha coins are commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of a brother, who had died in the war of liberation.[1] This is quite an ingenious theory; *sarvarājochchhettā* on the reverse may suggest the name of the issuer and Kācha on the obverse the name of the person commemorated. The artistic excellence and the numismatic originality displayed by the type may be explained by the assumption that Samudragupta issued the commemorative pieces late in his reign.

Commemorative coins or medals are not, however, known to Hindu tradition and there is no evidence to show that Samudragupta had really a brother named Kācha, who was killed in the war with the later Kushāṇas.

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1. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10.

The available evidence does not enable us to solve the problem of the identity of Kācha. It is possible to argue that (*i*) Kācha was not a Gupta ruler at all, but an interloper, who had temporarily eclipsed the power of the Guptas sometime after the death of Chandragupta I; (*ii*) that he was an elder brother of Samudragupta, who had disputed his succession; (*iii*) and that he was identical with Rāmagupta, who according to the literary tradition, was the elder brother of Chandragupta II, and had ruled before him for a short time.

If we accept the first view that Kācha was not a Gupta ruler at all, but a king of a different dynasty who had temporarily eclipsed the Gupta power after the death of Chandragupta I, we can well understand why his coins should be found in close association with those of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta in Gupta hoards and why they should bear a close resemblance to the Standard type of the latter. The non-occurrance of his name in the Gupta genealogies need cause us no surprise for he did not belong to that dynasty at all. This theory is quite a plausible one, for the Allahabad inscription of Samudrgupta (v. 5) does refer to a sanguinary war that had occurred soon after his accession. One, however, finds it difficult to believe that the Gupta power was so completely eclipsed after the death of Chandragupta I as to render the gold coinage of the interloper possible.

The next alternative is to assume that Kācha was not an outside ruler, but a brother of Samudragupta, preferably an elder one, who had challenged his succession in spite of his nomination as the crown prince by Chandragupta. The anouncement of the selection of Samudragupta as the crown prince is known to have rendered the faces of the rival candidates pale and downcast. Verse 5 of the Allahabad inscription further refers to a war at the beginning of the reign of Samudragupta, and it may have been a war of succession. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, v. 710, also refers to a younger brother of Samudragupta, who had disputed his succession. It is no

doubt true that the name of this rebel brother is given as Bhasma, but this work is deliberately vague and enigmatical at several places in giving the names of kings, and Bhasma may have been another name of Kācha. As Kācha was soon supplanted by Samudragupta, his coins are not numerous and as he came in between him and Chandragupta I, his coins are found associated with these two rulers.

The numismatic evidence, however, suggests that the coins of Kācha are later than the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta. The remarkably original and striking motif on the coins of Kācha was not possible at the death of Chandragupta I. We should therefore place Kācha later than Samudragupta, the motifs of whose Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha type obviously served as the prototype for the reverse of the coins of Kācha. But did a ruler named Kācha intervene between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II ?

Literary tradition knows of Rāmagupta as being the elder son and the immediate successor of Samudragupta; he is however unknown to both coins and inscriptions. Numismatic evidence shows that Kācha was most probably different from Samudragupta and came soon after the end of his reign; he is however, not known to inscriptions and literature. It is possible to argue that Kācha of the coins may be identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition and the following grounds can be advanced in favour of this view point.

Chandragupta had an additional name Devagupta; Rāmagupta too may have had an additional name, Kāchagupta. Or Kāchagupta may have been the name of the miscreant elder brother of Chandragupta, and later clerical error may have transformed it into Rāma, as has been suggested by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.[1] A little carelessness resulting in the dropping of horizontal stroke of *Ka*, which is just like crossing a *t* in the English script, will convert *ka* into *ra; cha*

1. *Malaviya Commemoration Volume, p.* 189.

can become *ma* if the pen slips to the left just beyond the loop; of *cha*. Kācha need not be rejected as an unknown name; in contemporary times two rulers of a family ruling at Ajanta as the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas are known to have borne it.[1] If we assume that Rāmagupta of the literary tradition is identical with Kācha of coins, we can very well explain the numismatic peculiarities of the Kācha coins in the following manner.

(*a*) Kācha succeeded Samudragupta; his coin-type also presupposes the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of that great emperor, which were issued probably towards the end of his long reign.

(*b*) It is but natural that at the beginning of his reign Kācha should have decided to paraphrase one of the popular legends of his father by making some suitable modifications in it.

(*c*) The *biruda* on the reverse *sarvarājochchhettā* has not been used by Samudragupta in his Allahabad pillar inscription. Kācha may have adopted it as an earnest of his desire to conquer more kings and excel his father. To us, who know the the subsequent history and fate of Kācha or Rāmagupta, this title may appear presumptuous; but he may well have scored some victories at the beginning of his regin which may have justified this title before he was trapped in a distant Punjab fort. It is only later Gupta records which ascribe this epithet exclusively to Samudragupta.

(*d*) Kācha *alias* Rāmagupta had a short reign; this is quite in keeping with the relative rarity of his coins and can also explain why they are confined to one type only.

(*e*) Their metrology shows that they were issued before 121 grains standard was popularized by Chandragupta II, probably in the later half of his reign. And this condition is completely satisfied by identifying Kācha of the coins with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition.

1. *A. S. W. I.*, IV., p. 129.

(*f*) One can also understand how in the Tanda Hoard[1] of 25 Gupta coins only two belonged to the reign of Chandragupta I, and the remainders were equally divided between Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta and those of Kācha. Kācha coins came soon after the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta, which were issued towards the end of of his reign.

(*g*) Kācha *alias* Rāmagupta may have been a Vaishṇava like his younger brother, Chandragupta; hence his *Chakradhvaja.*

(*h*) The name of Kācha may have been deliberately eliminated from later Gupta records; similar considerations may be responsible for his coin-type not being imitated by later rulers.

(*i*) The non-occurrence of his name in official Gupta genealogies may be due to the desire to leave out a collateral, who was a disgrace to the family. Collaterals are frequently left out in Gupta genealogies as preserved in official seals; Skandagupta is, for instance, left out in the genealogy of the Bhitari seal.

The above view, which once appeared to be very probable, is now rendered somewhat doubtful by the recent discovery and publication of the copper coins of Rāmagupta in Malwa.[2] We had assumed above that the original name of the elder brother of Chandragupta II was Kācha, and that it became Rāma through later clerical carelessness. But now it appears from the new copper coins that the form of the name current in the fourth century also was Rāma and not Kācha. So the theory of later clerical mistake is ruled out of order. It is possible to argue that the elder brother of Chandragupta had like him two names, Rāmagupta and Kāchagupta, and that he selected the former for his copper coinage and the latter for his gold one. This appears rather improbable, when

1. *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, p. 152; *I. A.*, 1902, p. 259.
2. *J. N. S. I.*, XII, 103 and Pl. IX.

we remember how Chandragupta II allowed only one of his two names to appear on his coinage. It is possible to hold that Rāmagupta of the copper coinage was a local ruler in Mālwā different from Kācha of gold coins, and so we need not assume that one and the same king issued copper coins in one name and gold coins in another. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to prove this proposition. It is also possible that Rāmagupta of the copper coins is the elder brother of Chandragupta II, whose gold coins have yet to be discovered and that Kācha of gold coins is an interloper, who had temporarily eclipsed the Gupta power and issued his coins during his ascendancy. As already pointed out above, this theory also is not free from difficulties.

It has to be admitted that we are not yet able to solve the problem of the identity of Kācha of gold coins and Rāmagupta of the copper ones. We have tentatively assumed that Kācha was a Gupta king and came after Samudragupta.

Till the discovery of the Bayana hoard, the coins of Kācha were known only in one type and one variety. The Bayana hoard has disclosed a solitary coin of a second variety, where *Garuḍadhavaja* figures on the obverse and the deity on the reverse carries a noose instead of a flower.

We now proceed to give the full description of the type.

Obv: King dressed as in the Standard type of Samudragupta, standing to l. holding *chakradhvaja* (standard surmounted by wheel) in l. hand and offering incense on altar with r. hand. *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the king in variety B only. Under the king's l. arm, *Kācha.*

Circular legend; commencing at I, *Kācho gāmavajitya divaṁ karmabhir-uttamair-jayati;* (**Pl. XX. 11**); 'Having conquered the earth, Kācha wins the heaven by excellent deeds.'

Metre, Upagīti.

Rev: Goddess (Lakshmī?) nimbate, standing to l. on a circular carpet wearing *sārī*, bodice, upper garment, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding a flower in r. hand in variety A and a noose in variety B, and cornucopiæ in l. hand. Symbol on l. at the centre in var. A and at the top in variety B. On r. *Sarva-rājochchhettā* (**Pl. XXIII. 50**), 'Exterminatior of all kings.'

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 5

Variety A

(*Without Garuḍadhvaja*)[1]

(1) Gold; .75″; 114. 2 grains; *B. H.* Pl. IV. 1.

Obv: The letter *Kā* is distinct, the medial vowel is denoted by a short horizontal line above the letter. Legend beginning at I, *Kācha gamavajatya dava* on l., *mabharuttamajja.*

Rev: Flower is rather indistinct. Symbol at the centre. Legend, *Sarvarajachchhetta.*

(**Pl. IV. 1.**)

(2) Gold; .85″; 116 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, II, 9.

Obv: The king wears a pearl-bordered cap and his features are distinct, so also the horizontal medial *ā* sign of *Kā*. Legend, on l., *Kācho gamavajatya dava*, on l., *karmabharuttama ja.*

Rev: The long stalk of the flower is noticeable. Symbol at the centre. Legend, *Sarvarājochchhettā.*

(**Pl. IV. 2.**)

(3) Gold; .8″; 117. 3 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, II., 13.

Obv: The medial vowel of *Kā* is distinct and it is denoted by a slanting line, inclined to r. Legend, on l. *karmabhiruttamarjaya.*

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1. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. II. 6-13; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i, Pl. II. 1; *J. R. A. S*, 1889, Pl. I. 3.

Rev: As above, legend, *Sarvarājochchhettā*.

(Pl. IV. 3.)

(4) Gold; .8″; 116 grains of Obv. and 114 grains of Rev; B. H. Pl. VII. 5 (Obv), Pl. VII. 6. (Rev).

Obv: The king's name under the arm is clearly *Kacha* and not *Kācha*. Legend, on l., *Kacha gāmavajatya da;* on r., *bharutta.*

Rev: The figure of the goddess is graceful, and so is her *sārī* and head-dress. Symbol very complex; legend, *Sarvarājochchhettā*.

(Pl. IV. 4.)

Variety B

(With *Garuḍadhvaja*)

(5) Gold; .75″; 119.4 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. VII. 11.

Obv: *Kācha* under l. arm blurred; the top of the staff in the l. hand is not distinct, but there are traces of a *chakra* near the king's halo. *Garuḍadhvaja* is quite distinct in front of the king. Legend, on the l. only, *ruttamajayata*; the last letter is distinct on this specimen.

Rev: Goddess holds a noose in the r. hand instead of the usual flower. The symbol is transferred to the upper left quadrant. Legend is blurred and truncated.

(Pl. IV. 5.)

CHAPTER VI

COINAGE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Probably no other Hindu king issued so extensive a currency in the yellow metal as did Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The imperial mints were active throughout the reign. Even now the most common ancient gold coins that one comes across are those of this emperor.

Till recently the coin types in gold of Chandragupta II were also six like that of his father. Recently their number has been increased to eight by the discovery of the Chakravikrama and the Standard types. Chandragupta, however, did not merely continue the types of his father and add two new to them. He did not perform Aśvamedha sacrifice, not because he was not a great conqueror, but probably because of his Vaishnavite convictions. So the Aśvamedha type was not issued by him. *Kṛitāntaparaśu* had become an exclusive epithet of his father; so he did not issue coins in that type. He continued his father's most popular type, the Standard type, only for a short time; for only one specimen of it has so far come to light. The Archer type, which was issued very sparingly by Samudragupta, was issued in mass quantity by Chandragupta with a surprising number of varieties in it. The Tiger-slayer type of the father was transformed in to the Lion-slayer type by the son and it became fairly popular. The Lyrist type of the father was replaced by the Couch type of the son; but the coins in this type are rare. The King-and-Queen-on-the-Couch type, which may be regarded as a further modification of the couch type, is still rare; only two specimens have so far been noticed. Still rarer is the Chakravikrama type, which is represented so far by by a single specimen. The Horseman and the Chhatra types

are two other numismatic innovations of the new reign; they are fairly common.]

Vikrama either by itself or in combination with other words like *ajita-*, *siṁha-* and *chakra-* is the invariable epithet of Chandragupta II on his coins. Thomas brie'ly refers[1] to a coin in the Stacy collection, which he regards as a cast from a genuine one. It is a coin of the Lion-slayer type, on the obverse of which he reads the legend as *Saṁhavikrama Kumara* (*Guptaparidhi*) *saṁhamahendra*, and suggests that *Vikrama* and *Mahendra* were both the *birudas* of Chandragupta II. The coin appears to be a forged one and its legend is far from clear. We have thus no evidence to show that Chandragupta bore the *biruda* of *Mahendra* also. His *biruda* was *Vikrama* and we have already shown how it is extremely doubtful as to whether it had ever been adopted by his father Samudragupta.

Late in his regin Chandragupta started silver currency primarily to meet the needs of his new subjects in Gujarat and Kathiawar. He also issued several types in copper, but their specimens are rather small.

THE ARCHER TYPE

The Archer type is the most popular one of Chandragupta II. Out of the 983 coins of this emperor found in the Bayana hoard, as many as 798 belonged to the Archer type. In the British Museum, in the Indian Museum, in the Lucknow Museum and in the Ashmolean Museum the coins of this type are very numerous, their numbers bring 39, 28, 57 and 14 respectively. This type continued to be popular through the succeeding reigns; during the decline of the empire, its effete rulers issued debased coins only in this type.

The coins of this type vary in size from .75″ to .9″. They were issued to three weight standards, 121, 124 and 127 grains; of these the first is the most common. They are found all over the Gupta empire.)

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889. p. 88.

The type shows the emperor standing generally to left with *Garuḍadhvaja* in his front, usually holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right. On the reverse there is the goddess seated on throne in class I and on lotus in class II. The coins of class II show the completion of the process of identifying the goddess on the reverse with Lakshmī, for she is now shown both as seated on lotus and as holding a lotus bud or flower in her hand. In the Bayana hoard class II was about 18 times more numerous than class I;[1] this hoard was probably collected in the northern U. P. and thus shows that the Lakshmī type had become popular even in those portions of the empire, which were once accustomed to the Ardoksho type of the Later Kushāṇas.

Though the coins of class I are relatively few, they show sufficient variety both on the obverse and the reverse. In variety A, which is most common., the king's name is written under the left arm; the goddess on the reverse holds either cornucopiæ or lotus in the left hand, and the right is sometimes opened out and empty, sometimes holding a noose and sometimes scattering round gold coins. In variety B, the name of the king is written between the bow and the bow-string, the string being inside. The variety C differs from variety B in having the bow-string of the bow outside; its legend begins on the left. In variety D, the bow is held at the middle, its string being outside; the name of the king is written outside the string. The variety E ressembles the variety D, but differs from it in not having *Chandra* written varitically on the obverse; a sword hangs by the side of the king. This coin has been only briefly noticed; it is neither illustrated nor fully described. It is interesting to note that all the coins of this class are issued to the weight standard of 121 grains; so far none is found to weigh 124 or 127 grains.

1. There were 41 coins of class I and 757 of class II.

ARCHER TYPE

CLASS I

(Throne reverse)

Obv: King standing l., nimbate, wearing Kushāṇa coat and trousers, but an Indian close-fitting cap, often with a pearl-border; earrings, necklace and armlets on his person; he holds bow in left hand and arrow in right, whose palm is generally turned downwards. Garuḍa standard decorated with fillets in his front. *Chandra*, written vertically, usually, under the left arm. Circular legend: *Deva-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* (**Pl. XX. 12**).

Rev: Within dotted border Goddess Lakshmī (?) seated on throne and wearing a *sārī*, a bodice, an upper garment, earrings, necklace, armlets and a semi-circular pearl ornament on the forehead; her feet rest on a circular mat or lotus. Back of the throne is visible in some cases and invisible in others. In her left hand, the goddess holds a cornucopiæ in some cases and a lotus in others. The r. hand usually holds a *pāśa* (noose) but it is sometimes empty and and sometimes dropping down coins. Legend on r. *Śrīvikramaḥ*. (**Pl. XXIII. 51.**) Border of dots. Monogram generally on left; in rare cases on right.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 27[1]

Variety A

(King's name under the l. arm)[2]

(1) Gold; .85″ (Obv.), .8″ (Rev.).; 117.5 grains (Obv.), 122.5 grains (Rev.); *B. H.*, Pl. VIII.12 (Obv.), Pl. VIII. 6. (Rev.).

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1. One coin, however, is twice included in Pl. V, 8 and 11, by oversight, the coins illustrated are thus really 26.

2. *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. VI. 1-2.

Obv: King wears a graceful pearl-bordered cap; legend on l., *Devaśramahārājadhara*, on r., *chandragu*, blurred.

Rev: Goddess holds noose in r. hand and cornucopiæ in l. Back of the throne visible on r. Legend, *Śrava-krama.*

(**Pl. IV. 6.**)

(2) Gold; .8″; 120.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. VIII. 11.

Obv: King's cap is graceful and the ends of the diadem are flying behind the head. Legend on l. *Devaśra-mahārājadhara,* on r. *Chandraguptaḥ.*

Rev: Goddess holds lotus in l. hand, turned up, and a noose in r. No back of the throne visible. Legend *Śrivikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. IV. 7.**)

(3) Gold; .75″; 119 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. VIII. 6.

Obv: Legend, blurred and truncated; on l. *Devaśramahā-rājadhara.*

Rev: Goddess holds cornucopiæ in l. hand and is scattering out gold coins by r. Back of the throne visible on r.

(**Pl. IV. 8.**)

(4) Gold; .75″; 118.5 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. VIII. 1.

Obv: King's cap is graceful. Legend on r. *Devaśramahārā;* on l. *Chandragupta.*

Rev: R. hand of the goddess is opened out and empty and l. hand holds a lotus.

(**Pl. IV. 9.**)

Variety B

(*Chandra* between the bow and the bow-string which is inside)[1]

(5) Gold; .85″; 119.8 grains (Obv.); 121.9 grains (Rev.); *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. VI. 4 and *B.H.*, Pl. VIII. 13.

Obv: Features of the king are sharp and expressive; his coat has side buttons and is short-sleeved. There is

1. *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. VI. 3-4.

an armlet over l. arm. *Chandra* between the bow and the bow-string, the string being inside.

Rev: All four legs of the throne are visible. Additional symbol on r. Legend, *Śrīvikramaḥ*.

(**Pl. IV. 10.**)

Variety C

(*Chandra* between the bow and bow-string which is outside)

(5) Gold; .8″; 119.4 grains; *B. H.*, Pl. IX. 2.

Obv: The die of the coin is poor. Circular legend probably begins at VII but is off the flan on l.; on r. *Śra Chandra-gupta*. *Chandra* between the bow and the bow-string which is outside.

Rev: Goddess holds a noose in r. hand and a lotus in l. which is turned up. No back of the throne is visible.

(**Pl. IV. 11.**)

Variety D

(*Chandra* outside the bow-string)[1]

(7) Gold; .8″; 120.9 grains; *B. M. C., G. D.*, VI. 5.

Obv: Note the side buttons of the coat on both the sides. The coat has short sleeves. The bow is held by the middle, its string being outside and *Chandra* is written vertically outside it.

Rev: Goddess has cornucopiæ in l. and noose in r. hand. Legend, *Śrīvikramaḥ*, but truncated.

(**Pl. IV. 12.**)

Variety E

(Without *Chandra* on obverse)[2]

(8) Gold; size and weight not recorded.

Obv: King standing to l. holding bow with string outside, with sword hanging by his side; *Chandra* written vertically not engraved any where.

Rev: Not described.

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1. *Ibid.*, VI. 5-6.
2. *J. A. S. B.*, 1894, p. 168. This coin is only described and not illustrated.

CLASS II

The obverse of this class is similar to that of Class I, but there are greater variations in the position of the king. He is seen usually wearing a *dhotī* instead of a trouser. The goddess on the reverse is always seated on a lotus. She holds a noose in the right hand and a lotus in the left. The latter is sometimes bent up, sometimes akimbo and sometimes resting upon the thigh. So far no specimens of this class have been found, where the goddess is either scattering coins by the right hand or holding it out empty. We have distinguished 15 varieties in this class. The variety A (**Pl. IV. 13-14**) shows the king standing to left, with bow held at the top in the left hand and arrow in the right. The name of the king *Chandra* is written under the left arm. The coins of this variety are most common; in the Bayana hoard and Lucknow museum out of 798 and 55 coins of the Archer type, as many as 700 and 42 belong to it. Coins in this variety were issued to three weight standards of 121 grains, 124 grains and 127 grains, but the former is most common. In variety B (**Pl. IV. 15; V. I.**), which is rather rare, there is a crescent near the *Garuḍa* standard or above the head of the king. In variety C (**Pl. V. 2**), we have a *chakra* at the same place. It recalls the *Chakradhvaja* of Kācha. In variety D (**Pl. V. 4**), the king stands to left, but he is looking to right. This variety follows the weight standard of 121 grains only. Variety E (**Pl. V. 3**) shows the king with a small whip by his side and variety F (**Pl. V. 5**) with a sword. Coins of variety E follow all the three weight standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains. But all the coins of the variety F weigh in the vicinity of 127 grains. Variety G (**Pl. V. 6**) is similar to variety A, but its reverse shows the goddess seated upon a beautiful lotus with her right leg hanging down. The coins of this variety all belong to the 121 grains weight standard. Variety H (**Pl. V. 7**) differs from variety A in having the legend *Chandragupta* on the reverse instead of the usual one *Śrīvikramaḥ*. In Variety I, (**Pl. V. 8, 11**), the king stands to left, but holds the bow in the right hand and the arrow in the left, his name

Chandra being written not under the left but under the right arm. *Garuḍa* standard is on the right. Variety J (**Pl. V. 9**) is similar to variety I, but the king looks to right and has no arrow in the l. hand, which rests on the hip. It may be that the king is shown as holding the bow in the left hand in these two varieties, either because there was a desire to represent the king as ambidextrous or because the artist was merely desirous to produce a different positional effect. The coins of these two varieties all weigh in the vicinity of 120 grains. In variety K, (**Pl. V. 10**) *Chandra* is written between the bow-string and the bow, which is held at the top in the left hand, and the king is drawing an arrow from a quiver by the right. The quiver stands in the place of the altar of the Standard type and was actually mistaken for one by Mr. Burn, who first published this coin.[1] But Mr. Allan seems to be right in holding that the object under consideration is a quiver; one can see several arrow-heads peeping out of its opening. A quiver, it must be however added, is hardly ever placed on the ground in the way it is shown on this coin. In variety L (**Pl. V. 14**), the king is looking to right and holding the bow by the middle with string outside, *Chandra* being engraved to the right of the the string. The variety M (**Pl. V. 15**) is similar to variety L, but the king is looking to left and his name does not at all appear on the obverse under the left arm. The variety N, which has not been illustrated but only referred to,[2] is similar to variety A, but the name of the king is written outside the arrow near the left margin.

It is not quite certain whether we are justified in attributing the coins of the next variety O (**Pl. V. 12, 17**), to Chandragupta II. It is represented by three coins in the Indian Museum, Nos. 30-32. Of these coins Nos. 31 and 32 are no doubt attributed to Chandragupta II by Smith, but they have no clear

1. *N. Ch.*, 1910, p. 399.
2. *J. R. A. S.*, 1893,p. 105. This coin was in the Rivett-Carnac collection.

legend either on the obverse or on the reverse justifying their attribution to that emperor (**Pl. V. 12**). On coin No. 30, however, the legend under the king's arm clearly reads *Chandra* (**Pl. V. 17**), though that on the reverse has not been clearly preserved. The attribution of these coins is a difficult problem. If we assume that Chandragupta II had issued them, one wonders why the *suvarṇa* standard, to which the coins were intended to conform, was not continued for any of his types by Kumārgupta I. All these three coins are in base gold; No. 31 is almost like a copper piece. Gupta treasury was overflowing in the reign of Chandragupta II, and he is not likely to have issued such heavily adulterated gold coins. On the other hand, if we do not attribute these coins to Chandragupta II, we shall have to assign them to a hitherto unknown ruler Chandragupta III, who may have ruled sometime towards the end of the 5th century. Some of the coins (**Pl. V. 17**) have a peculiar symbol between Garuḍa and the king's head, which occurs on some of the coins of Vishṇugupta, a late Gupta king.[1] We never get a symbol at this place on the coins of any of the great Gupta emperors. This circumstance may perhaps suggest that the issuer was a person different from Chandragupta II. Until more definite evidence becomes available, we may, however, tentatively assign these coins to Chandragupta II. A solitary coin of his Horseman type in the Bodleian collection also weighs 140·5 grains.[2] It would appear that he did issue some coins of the *suvarṇa* standard, but later gave up the experiment. Smith had thought that the coins of this variety may have been posthumous issues of Chandragupta II;[3] hardly any arguments can be adduced in support of this view. Variety P (**Pl. V. 13**) is represented by a unique piece in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is the same as variety A, but is in the denomination of a half a *dīnāra*, weighing only 57 grains.

1. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, p. 145.
2. *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, p. 183, *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, pp. 105-6.
3. *I. M. C.*, I. p. 106.

As class II is similar to class I, already described, we do not give here its general description. We proceed to describe its varieties.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 19

Variety A

(*Chandra* under l. arm)[1]

(9) Gold; .8″; 123.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. X. 14.

Obv: King standing to l. wearing *dhotī*, holding a bow by its top in the left hand and an arrow in the right. (The graceful arrangement of the hair on the king's head is noticeable.) Garuḍa standard in his front. *Chandra* under l. arm; circular legend, beginning at I, *Devaśrīmahārājādharājaśra;* on r., faint traces of *Chandragupta.*

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated on lotus and holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus in l. resting on the thigh. Symbol on l. Legend, *Śrī-Vikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. IV. 13.**)

(10) Gold; .8″; 121.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. IX. 7.

Obv: As above; but king wearing trousers. Legend on r., *Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.*

Rev: The l. arm of the goddess is stretched out and is not resting on thigh as on the above coin. Legend, as above, but truncated.

(**Pl. IV. 14.**)

Variety B

(With crescent)

(11) Gold; .85″; 120.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XI. 11 (Obv.) Pl. XII. 2 (Rev.).

Obv: As above. The king's coat has side buttons and he wears a pearl-bordered cap, having a pearl string hanging behind. Crescent above his head. Legend, on l., *Devāśrama;* on r. traces of *Chandragupta.*

1. *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. VI-VII.

Rev: As above, but blurred. The l. hand of the goddess rests on her thigh.

(Pl. IV. 15.)

(12) Gold; .8″; 126.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, VII. 14.

Obv: King is wearing *dhotī*. Faint traces of circular legend. Crescent between the head of Garuḍa and that of the king.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. V. 1.)

Variety C

(With *Chakra*)[1]

(13) Gold; .75″; 131.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, VII. 15.

Obv: King's hair is falling is tresses and he is wearing *dhotī*. The staff of the Garuḍa standard is worked on lathe, and there is a *chakra* between Garuḍa and the king.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. V. 2.)

Variety D

(With king looking to r.)[2]

(14) Gold; .75″; 121.4 grains; *B.H.*, P. XII. 15.

Obv: King stands to l. but looks to r. His body is bare and markedly muscular. Legend, on l. *Devaśrīmahārājādhirājaśra*.

Rev: L. hand of the goddess stretched out and resting on the knee slightly raised. Lotus seat is artistic. Legend, *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*.

(Pl. V. 3.)

Variety E

(King with whip)

(15) Gold; .8″; 126.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 2.

Obv: As above, but a short whip is hanging down from his left side along his left leg. Its leather thong at the

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VII. 15-17; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i, Pl. III. 2; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. I. 16.

2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VII. 18.

end can be distinguished from its rod.

Rev: As above, but left hand of the goddess is akimbo; lotus in l. hand looks like a cluster of three dots. This side is blurred.

(Pl. V. 4.)

Variety F

(King with sword)

(16) Gold; .75″; 127.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 3.

Obv: The king wears a *dhotī* and his sword is hanging from the belt and its hilt can be seen peeping out of the scabbard. Armlets of the king are worth noting and his figure is well proportioned and majestic.

Rev: As above. Left hand of the goddess rests on the thigh.

(Pl. V. 5.)

Variety G

(Goddess on the reverse seated with one foot hanging down)

(17) Gold; .8″; 129.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 8.

Obv: King is wearing coat and trousers. Legend visible only on r., *Davaśramaharajadha*.

Rev: L. hand of the goddess, holding the lotus, rests at the waist. R. hand holds the noose. Left foot rests on an artistic lotus and the r. one is hanging down.

(Pl. V. 6.)

Variety H

(With *Chandragupta* on reverse)

(18) Gold; .8″; 129.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 10.

Obv: King wearing *dhotī* stands to r. but looks to l.; his body is remarkably muscular. staff of Garuḍa standard is worked on lathe. Circular legend, at I, *Śri* only is visible.

Rev: R. hand of the goddess is apparently empty, and there is a peculiar conical object above it. Legend

on r. is blurred, but *Chandragupta* is sufficiently distinct on the original.

(Pl. V. 7.)

Variety I

(*Chandra* under r. arm)

(19) Gold; .8″; 121 grains; *N. Ch.*, 1937, Pl. XXXV. 11.

Obv: King stands to l. and holds bow in r. hand and arrow in l. His body is bare and muscular. *Chandra* is written under the r. arm. Garuḍa standard is on r. Legend on l. blurred and truncated; on r. *ndragu* at IX and *pta* at XI. The bow cuts across the subscript of *ndra*.

Rev: L. leg of the goddess is slightly raised and the l. hand rests upon it. Legend, *Śrī-Vikrama*.

(Pl. V. 8; 11.)[1]

(20) Gold; .75″; 120.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 12.

Obv: As above, but Garuḍa standard is blurred. Legend on r. *Deva*; on l. at IX *Chandragu* together and *pta* at XI.

(Pl. V. 16.)

Rev: L. arm extended below and resting upon l. knee. Legend, *Śrīvikramaḥ*.

(Not illustrated)

Variety J

(*Chandra* under r. arm and king without arrow)[2]

(21) Gold; .7″; 118.4 grains; *B. M. C., G. D.*, VII. 19.

Obv: As above, but the king inclines on the bow in the r. hand and looks to r. L. hand rests on the hip and holds no arrow.

Garuḍa standard on the r. Legend off the flan, but *gu* can be seen at IX.

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1. By an oversight, two photographs of the same coin have been included in this plate. **Pl. V. 8** is the same as **Pl. V. 11**.
2. *J. A. S. B.*, 1884, i, Pl. III. 3; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, Pl. V. 1.

Rev: L. hand of the goddess rests upon the thigh.

(**Pl. V. 9.**)

Variety K

(*Chandra* between the bow and the bow-string)

(22) Gold; .85″; 121.6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, VI. 10.

Obv: As in variety A, but *Chandra* is written between the bow and the bow-string. King wears *pyjāmā* and short-sleeved coat. In front of him is a quiver and he is picking out an arrow by r. hand.

Rev: Both hands of the goddess are stretched and raised up and do not touch the thighs. Legend, *Śrī-Vikrama.*

(**Pl. V. 10.**)

Variety L

(*Chandra* outside the string of the bow held by the middle)[1]

(23) Gold; .75″; 121.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIII. 4.

Obv: King is inclined to left but looking to r. and holds bow by its middle with string outside. *Chandra* is written outside the bow-string. Legend, on l. *Devaśrīmahārājādharājaśrī Chandra*. Some of the letters are truncated; tail of the letter *ndra* can be seen near king's l. leg.

(**Pl. V. 14.**)

Rev: L. hand of the goddess rests on the thigh. Legend, *Śrī-Vikramaḥ.*

(Not illustrated)

Variety M

(Without *Chandra* under the arm)

(24) Gold; .8″; 117. 7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 9.

Obv: King looks to l., and his l. leg is slightly raised. The bow is held by the middle, its back being pressed against the king's waist. Its string is not visible.

1. In February 1953, I saw a sub-variety of this type with a coin dealer, where the king was facing left. The coin was exactly like **Pl. IV. 12**, but with lotus reverse. Its price demanded was exhorbitant.

The usual legend blurred and truncated, *Dava-śrama* and the lower portion of *ndra* being visible.

(Pl. V. 15.)

Rev: Both hands of the goddess stretched out and slightly raised. Lotus has got a very long stalk. Legend blurred.

(Not illustrated)

Variety N

(*Gupta* written outside the arrow on l.)

Gold; size and weight not known; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 105.

Obv: King holding bow in l. hand and arrow in right, *Gupta* written outside the arrow in l.

Rev: Not described.

N. B.—The photograph of this coin has not been published, nor is its complete description given by Smith.

Variety O

(Weighing above 140 grains)

(25) Gold; .8″; 141.8 grains; *I.M.C.*, I. Pl. XV. 12.

Obv: King wears *dhotī* and a tailed coat. *Chandra* under l. arm. Circular legend off the flan. A peculiar symbol between Garuḍa and the head of the king.

(Pl. V. 17.)

Rev: Smith states that the legend is apparently *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*, but it is not legible.
Symbol peculiar.

(Not illustrated.)

(26) Gold; .8″; 145.8 grains; *I.M.C.*, I. XVIII. 4.

Obv: King wears *dhotī* and one end of the sash is hanging down. Smith says that the name under the l. arm is indistinct and that there are traces of the usual legend,*Devaśrī* etc. The published photograph, reproduced here, shows no legend under the arm. There are hardly any traces of the circular legend also.

Rev: Legend is indistinct and truncated and Smith's reading *Śrīvikrama* is not supported by the photograph.

(Pl. V. 12.)

Variety P

(Half Dīnāra denomination)

(27) Gold; .6″; 57.6 grains; Prince of Wales Museum; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I., Pl. V.

Obv: As in variety A, but crudely executed. *Garuḍadhvaja* can hardly be recognised as such. Under the l. arm *Chandra*, but very much blurred. No traces of circular legend.

Rev: Goddess as in variety A, but both her hands bent up and raised. No symbol. Of the legend, only the lower stroke of *kra* is visible.

(Pl. V. 13.)

LION-SLAYER TYPE

The coins of the Lion-slayer type are not quite rare, but owing to their high artistic merit, they are in great demand. In the Bayana hoard, out of 983 coins of Chandragupta II, 43 belonged to this type. The British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Indian Museum and the Lucknow Museum possess 13,3,10 and 16 specimens respectively of this type. The size of the coins varies from .75″ to 85″. Vast majority of them are issued to the standard of 121 grains, but a few weigh 124 grains and fewer still 127 grains. One piece in the Bayana hoard weighs as high as 136.5 grains. The coins are known to have been found at Jaunpur, Kotwa, Mirzapur, Kanauj and Bayana.

In the Lion-slayer type,[1] on the obverse the king is usually shown as attacking the lion, generally by bow and arrow,

1. Lion-hunter type may perhaps be a better designation, but the name Lion-slayer is now in long vogue and has therefore been retained. The main idea of course was to represent the king as attacking and slaying the lion; hence Lion-slayer also is not quite an unsuitable phrase.

but sometimes by the sword as well. The two are sometimes shown apart, but pitted against each other; in many cases, however, the king is shown as trampling the lion on his belly. On the reverse there is goddess seated on lion. Her mount would suggest that she is intended to be Durgā, but usually she is also shown as holding a lotus in her left hand; so the intention of representing her as Lakshmī cannot be altogther excluded. Her right hand usually holds a noose but in some cases it is empty. The mount of the goddess is sometimes seated couchant and sometimes walking either to right or to left.

To classify the coins of the Lion-slayer type is not easy. Smith had divided them into three classes, class I, Lion-combatant type, where the king and the Lion are pitted against each other, class II, Lion-trampler type, where the king is trampling upon the lion and class III, Lion-retreating type, where the beast is shown as retreating away from the king. We think this classification fairly satisfactory and have followed it in this work. In *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, coins have been classified according to legends. But the vast majority of the coins have one and the same legend—*Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*. Most of them fall in one and the same class. This classification is therefore not quite satisfactory. There can be no doubt that the king is deliberately shown on some coins as trampling upon the ferocious beast in order to emphasise his reckless courage; it is but meet that these coins should be constituted into a different class. Similarly the motif, the Retreating Lion, is so striking that we would be perfectly justified in constituting the coins of this category into a separate class. The remaining coins, where the king and the lion face each other, naturally form a different class, usually called Lion-combatant.

CLASS I

LION-COMBATANT TYPE

The varieties in the attitudes of the king and the lion on the obverse, and in the attributes of the goddess on the reverse

and the positions of her mount are so numerous that it is difficult to think of any criteria of the classification of varieties that may not involve some overlapping. For the sake of convenience, we have first divided the coins according as the king is to right or left, and then subdivided them further. In variety A, (**Pl. VI. 1-3, VII. 10**) the king is facing left and the goddess on the reverse is seated on a couchant lion, holding noose in the r. hand and lotus in the l. Variety B (**Pl. VI. 4**), is represented by a unique coin; its obverse resembles that of the variety A, but the name of the king is also written perpendicularly in the field to the right of his left hand. The lotus on the reverse has a long stalk which becomes twisted in the middle, as the goddess holds it by her left hand resting akimbo. In these varieties the king strings the bow by the l. hand. This is rather unusual; the artist may have desired to show His Majesty as ambidextrous, or he may have, in his desire to produce a different positional effect, ignored the circumstance of the king stretching the bow by the left hand. In varieties C and D, the king faces right and strings the bow by the right hand. The goddess in variety C (**Pl. VI. 5**), holds a noose in the right and a lotus in the left hand as in varieties A and B. In variety D (**Pl. VI. 6**), the right hand of the goddess is empty. In variety E (**Pl. XIX. 1**), which is represented by a single coin in the Bayana hoard, the king faces right, but does not string the bow at all; he merely holds it in his left hand, an arrow being in his right. The right hand of the goddess is empty as in variety D. The coins of the varieties B, C and D will undoubtedly rank among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India. The grace of the muscular body of the king has been fully brought out.

CLASS II

LION-TRAMPLER TYPE

In four varieties of this class A-D, the king is facing left, in six varieties E-J, he is facing right. The coins show a great

diversity in the motif on the reverse; the varieties are therefore distinguished with reference to the attributes of the goddess on the reverse and the posture of her mount. In variety A (**Pl. VI. 7**), the goddess is seated facing on lion couchant to left; she holds a noose in her right hand and a lotus in the left. In variety B (**Pl. VI. 8**), the goddess is seated to left astride her mount; she has a lotus in her right hand and the left one is hanging empty by her side. In varieties C and D, the lion is walking to r. and the legend is different from the usual one; in variety C (**Pl. VI. 9**), it is incomplete and seems to have been *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.* In variety D (**Pl. VI. 10**), this legend is prefixed by the king's favourite name, *Deva.*

In varieties E to J, the king is facing right. In variety E (**Pl. VI. 11**), lion is couchant to left and the goddess is sitting with both her legs hanging down; she has a noose in the r. hand and a cornucopiæ in the left. In variety F (**Pl. VI. 12**), the feet of the goddess are folded on the back of the couchant lion; her right hand is opened out and empty and the left one holds a lotus. In variety G (**Pl. VI. 13**), the goddess is seated astride the lion, her right hand holding a lotus and the left one hanging down empty by her side.

In varieties H and I the mount of the goddess is walking to left and right respectively. There are however a number of further peculiarities worth noting. Thus in variety H (**Pl. VI. 14-15, VII. 1**), on some coins the goddess is facing left, as does her walking mount (**Pl. VI. 15; VII. 1**), but in others she sits facing, but looks to left (**Pl. VI. 14**). Her legs are usually folded but in one case, one of them (**Pl. VII. 1**) is dangling down over the head of her mount. She holds a noose in the right hand and a lotus in the left in all cases. The coins of the variety I (**Pl. VII. 2-3**), are large in size and would rank among the best specimens of the numismatic art. The grim determination and tense action of the king engaged in the deadly game are successfully portrayed by the artist. The lion on the reverse is walking to right, but the goddess sits to front with

her legs folded, sometimes looking to right (**Pl. VII. 3**) and sometimes to front (**Pl. VII. 2**).

Variety J (**Pl. VII. 4**) differs from varieties A to I on account of its different obverse legend. It has not been completely read but seems to have been: *Narendrasiṁha-Chandraguptaḥ pṛithivīṁ jitvā divaṁ jayati.* The r. hand of the goddess on the reverse is empty and her l. hand holds a lotus. Her mount is couchant to left.

CLASS III

LION-RETREATING TYPE

Class III, the Lion-retreating type, is known from very few specimens. In varieties A and B (**Pl. VII. 5-6**), the king is to left; he is holding the bow in the right hand and the arrow in the l.; the former is not shown being strung. In variety A, the mount lion is couchant, in variety B, it is walking to right. In varieties C and D, the king is to right; in the former (**Pl. VII. 7**), he is stringing the bow to attack the beast; in the latter (**Pl. VII. 9**), he is charging it with a sword. Variety E (**Pl. VII. 8**) is like variety C, but the king is defiantly kicking at the retreating lion.

We now proceed to give a full description of the three classes.

LION-SLAYER TYPE

CLASS I

(Lion-Combatant)

Obv: King standing l. or r. and usually shooting an arrow at the lion at point blank range; bow in l. or r. hand, r. or l. hand stretching the bow-string. King is almost touching the lion but not trampling upon it. He wears waist-cloth and sash; he is bare-headed in some cases and wears an ornamental close-fitting head-dress in others. In some cases, he wears a coat, in others, he is bare-bodied.

Legend, *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ* (**Pl. XXI. 17**), 'The moon among the kings, who is famous for his warfare, who is invincible, and who is valorous like a lion, is victorious on the battle-field.'

Metre *Vaṁśasthavila.*

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion to r. usually with a noose in outstretched r. hand and a lotus in l. Symbol on l.

Legend: *Siṅhavikramaḥ.*,[1] **Pl. XXIII. 54.**

N.B. For a long time, the letters *raṇo raṇe* could not be read on any specimen. The first of these words was restored by Mr. Allan from its traces on a coin published by him in *N. Ch.*, 1935, p. 234. On two coins in the Bayana hoard, both the words *raṇo* and *raṇe* are quite distinct.

CLASS II

(Lion-Trampler)

Obv: King standing to r. or l. wearing *dhotī* and sash, and coat also in some cases; turban is on the head in some cases and the usual jewelry on his person; he tramples the lion on the belly by one foot and shoots an arrow at it by a bow held in l. or r. hand; r. or l. hand stretching the bow-string as in class I. Circular legend, commencing at I, is usually the same in most varieties, *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ;* in some varieties it is different.

Rev: Goddess seated, nimbate, on lion couchant, or walking to r. or l., holding noose, lotus or cornucopiæ in her hands; sometimes l. hand is empty and

1. Hoernle had read the reverse legend as *Siṅghaghnābhijña* on one specimen (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIX., Pt. I., Pl. 5). The plate, however does not justify the reading. It is doubtful whether this legend occurs on any type. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 112.

hanging by her side; sometimes r. hand is opened out and empty. Symbol usually on 1., except in a few cases. Legend: *Siṁhavikramaḥ.*

CLASS III

(Lion-retreating type)

Obv: King standing 1. or r. wearing waist-cloth and jewelry, sometimes holding bow in r. hand and arrow in 1., sometimes discharging arrow against the lion, sometimes attacking him with sword, and sometimes merely looking at it. Legend sometimes, *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*, sometimes, *Devaśrīmahārāja...* etc. (**Pl. XX. 12**) and sometimes, *Narendrachandraḥ* etc.

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion, couchant or walking, holding noose in r. hand and lotus in 1. Symbol on the left. Legend, sometimes prefixed with *Śrī*, *Siṁhavikramaḥ.*

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 6

CLASS I

(Lion-combtant)

Variety A

(King to l.)[1]

(1) Gold; .8″; 118.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVI. 12.

Obv: The king's r. foot is just away from the lion and the left one is raised up, as if to jump away if necessary. King wears coat and trousers; coat buttons are prominent. Circular legend beginning at I, *Narandrachandra prathataraṇo raṇe.* The last four letters are quite clear, and conclusively determine the full reading of this legend.

Rev: Lion couchant to 1., and one foot of the goddess is half hanging down; noose in r. hand and lotus in 1., resting on thigh. Legend, *.ṅhavakrama.*

(**Pl. VI. 1.**)

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, IX. 5.

(2) Gold; .8″; 119.2 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XVI. 13.

Obv: As above; coat buttons blurred. Circular legend. *..ndrachandra prathataraṇaraṇe.*

Rev: As above; *.ṅhavikrama.*

(Pl. VI. 2.)

(3) Gold; .85″; 121.2 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. IX. 3.

Obv: The lion is almost fully on the flan and the king's l. hand is almost in its jaw. King wears a half-sleeved coat and he is anticipating a jump, if necessary. Legend at X, *Siṅhavakrama*, truncated.

Rev: Goddess, as above, but her l. arm is stretched out and holds a noose.

(Pl. VI. 3.)

(4) Gold; .9″; 125.5 grains; Bodleian Collection; *N.Ch.*, 1891, Pl. II. 10.

Obv: King's r. foot is touching the lion but not trampling upon it. He wears a short-sleeved coat and a turban with a crest. Legend from I., *Nara.*, from VI *jayatya-jeyo bhuvi siṅhavikramaḥ.* The last half of the legend is almost entirely preserved on this coin.

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to r., noose in r. hand lotus in l. Symbol, blurred. Legend, *Siṅha-vikrama.*

(Pl. VII. 10.)

Variety B

(With *Chandra* in field)

(5) Gold; .85″; 119 grains; *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, N.S., Pl. III. 7.

Obv: King dressed as above; lion nearly full on the flan; *Chandra* written perpendicularly in the field on r. Circular legend off the flan.

Rev: Goddess as above, but the long stalk of the lotus in her l. hand is twisted in the middle. Legend, *.ṅhava-krama.*

(Pl. VI. 4.)

Variety C

(King to r., goddess with noose and lotus)[1]

(6) Gold; .8″; 119.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVI. 14.

Obv: King faces r. and is bare-bodied; crest on his forehead. Legend, at I, *Na*, at VII, *yya bhuvi siṅhavikramaḥ*, partly truncated.

Rev: As above, but the lotus stalk is not twisted in the middle. Circular pearl ornament round the head is distinct.

(Pl. VI. 5.)

Variety D

(As above, but r. hand of goddess is empty)[2]

(7) Gold; .8″; 119.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVII. 6.

Obv: As above, king's bare body is muscular and graceful. Legend at I,...*rendra. dra* (truncated); at IX, *tya* (truncated).

Rev: As above, but r. hand of the goddess is opened out and empty, symbol almost in touch with it. Legend, *Siṅhavakra*, truncated.

(Pl. VI. 6.)

Variety E

(As above, but king not stringing the bow)

(8) Gold; .8″; 123 grains; *B.H.*, XVII. 10.

Obv: King as above, holding bow in l. hand; r. hand holding an arrow and resting on hip. Legend at I, *Narandrachandra;* faint traces of truncated *tya.yyabhu. sa* on r.

Rev: R. leg of the goddess hanging down the lion's back; r. hand opened out and empty and l. hand holding lotus. Legend, *.ṅhavakrama.*

(Pl. XIX. 1.)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 9.
2. *B. M. C.,G. D.*, Pl. IX. 7-8.

CLASS II

(LION-TRAMPLING)

Variety A

(King to l. and goddess seated with legs folded up)[1]

(9) Gold; .75″; 117 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVII. 13.

Obv: King to l., wearing coat and head-dress, with a string of pearls hanging behind. Lion is only partly visible and the king tramples him by r. foot. Legend at II, *Narandrachandrapra*, at X, *ṅhavakrama*, blurred and truncated.

Rev: Lion couchant to r., and goddess seated facing with both her legs folded up; noose in r. hand and cornucopiæ in l. Symbol having the base line of seven dots is peculiar. Legend, *Siṅhavikrama.*

(**Pl. VI. 7.**)

Variety B

(As above, but goddess seated astride)

(10) Gold .75″; 120.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVII. 11.

Obv: King as above, his r. foot is in close contact with the lion and the l. one is trampling upon his tail. Faint traces of truncated letters at III and between IX and XII.

Rev: Goddess seated l. astride on lion to l. who raises up its head. She holds lotus in r. hand, and the l. one is empty and hanging down by her side and resting on the haunch of the mount. No symbol, flower in the hand of the goddess occupying its usual place. Legend, complete, *Siṅhavikrama.*

(**Pl. VI. 8.**)

Variety C

(As above, but lion walking to r, different legend)

(11) Gold; .8″; 121 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVII. 12.

Obv: King's figure is tall and he wears a cap, his r. foot is firmly planted on the lion's belly and the l. one treads

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 13; *N.Ch.*, 1910, Pl. XXIV. 12.

upon his tail. Lion full on the flan. Legend, at I, *Maha* at IV, *dhara*, between X and XI, *Chandragupta*, blurred and truncated. Full legend was probably *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*.

Rev: Lion is walking to r., but the goddess is seated with her legs folded up and facing to front. Noose in r. hand and lotus in l. Legend, *Saṅhavikramaḥ*.

(**Pl. VI. 9.**)

Variety D

(As above, but with a larger legend)

(12) Gold; .85″; 122.3 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XVII. 14.

Obv: King's figure is tall, he wears a crest on his forehead. His r. foot is planted upon the lion's belly and the l. foot treads upon his tail. Legend from I, *Deva-Śrī-mahara*, between IX and XII, *Śrī-Chandragupta*, partly blurred.

Rev: As above. Legend, *Siṅhavikramaḥ*.

(**Pl. VI. 10.**)

Variety E

(King to r.; goddess with noose and cornucopiae)[1]

(13) Gold; .75″; 118.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII. 1.

Obv: King to r. wearing coat and shorts; his l. foot is planted between lion's hind legs, and r. one is raised; lion is collapsing. Legend from II, *.ṅdra-chandra-pratha;* faint traces of letters on r.

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to l., both her legs hanging down; noose in her r. hand and cornucopiæ in l. Legend. *.ṅhavikrama*.

(**Pl. VI. 11.**)

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 11-12; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i, Pl. III. 6; *J. R. A.S.*, 1889, Pl. II. 5.

Variety F

(As above, but lotus in l. hand and r. hand empty)[1]

(14) Gold; .75″; 122.1 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XVIII. 14.

Obv: As above. Legend at I., *Narandrachandrapratha*, blurred, and the bow cuts across the subscripts of the two *ṅdras*. Lion is collapsing.

Rev: As above, but the goddess has folded her feet above the lion's back and her r. hand is opened out and empty. Legend, *Saṅhavikramaḥ*.

(Pl. VI. 12.)

Variety G

(As above, but goddess seated astride)[2]

(15) Gold; .8″; 118.5 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 1.

Obv: Arrow piercing right into the jaw of the lion is clearly visible. Lion tries to snatch at the bow by his fore paw. Legend at XI, *Narandrachandra.*

Rev: Goddess seated astride on lion to r., holding lotus in r. hand, which ousts the usual symbol; left hand hanging down empty by her side. Legend, *Siṅhavikramaḥ.*

(Pl. VI. 13.)

Variety H

(As above, but lion walking to l.)

(16) Gold; .8″; 118.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII.8.

Obv: King's hair is tied in a knot at the top and he tramples the lion by his l. foot. The beast is collapsing. Legend at I, *Nara*; faint traces of truncated letters, between IX and XI.

Rev: Lion is walking to l., and goddess is seated upon him to front, but is looking to l.; both legs are folded up.

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 14-15; *A.A.*, Pl. XVIII. 5; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. 11. 4; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i,. Pl. III. 5.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 1-2.

Noose in r. hand and lotus in l., which is akimbo. No symbol. Legend, *Saṅhavikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. VI. 14.**)

(17) Gold; .8″; 119.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII.7.

Obv: King as above. Legend at XII, *Narandracha*, faint traces of letters between IX and X; *bhu* at IX, *ma* at XI.

Rev: As above, but goddess is seated to l. with both her legs folded; she holds noose in r. hand and lotus with long stalk in l., resting on her waist. Symbol indistinct. Legend, *Saṅ(h)vikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. VI. 15.**)

(18) Gold; .8″; 119.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII.9.

Obv: As above, but the lion is almost falling on the ground. Legend at XII, *Narendrachandra prathatara;* faint traces of letters at X.

Rev: Goddess seated as above on lion walking to l., but her r. leg is slightly raised up and the l. one is dangling over the walking beast's head. She wears a cap with a crest of pearls at the top. No symbol. *Saṅhavikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. VII. 1.**)

Variety I

(Lion walking to r.)[1]

(19) Gold; .95″; 120.4 grains; *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, Pl. XII. 17.

Obv: As above; tense action and grim determination of the king are very realistically portrayed by the artist on this and the next two pieces. Legend from XII, *Narandrachandra pra*, truncated; at VIII, *yabhuvasa.*

Rev: Goddess seated to front, with both her legs folded up, on lion walking to r. and holding noose in r. hand and

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 16.

lotus with long stalk in l. resting on hip. Legend, *Siṅhavikramaḥ.*

(Pl. VII. 2.)

(20) Gold; .95″; weight not known;[1] *B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. VIII.17.

Obv: As above; legend from XII, *Narendrachandra prathitara. raṇ ejayatyaja*, the last four letters are between VI and VII.

Rev: Goddess seated as above, but she is looking to r.; noose in r. hand and lotus in l. Legend, *Siṅhavikrama.*

(Pl. VII. 3.)

Variety J

(With a different legend)

(21) Gold; .85″; 127.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 10.

Obv: King, bare-bodied, standing to r., and trampling upon and shooting at the lion which is collapsing. Legend not completely read but is conjectuarally restored by Mr. Allan as *Narendrasiṁhaḥ. Chandraguptaḥ pṛithivīṁ jitvā divaṁ jayati.* 'Chandragupta, a lion among kings, having conquered the earth, wins the heaven.' Of this legend we can read from I *ndrasaha Chandragupta*, the last letter being at V; at IX traces of *tva* and *da.*

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to l., with head turned back; she holds lotus in uplifted l. hand, and r. hand is opened out and empty. A symbol just above it, somewhat resembling a *kalaśa* (jar).[2] Legend *Siṁhachandraḥ.*

(Pl. VII. 4.)

1. This beautiful piece is known only from its plaster cast.
2. It is not possible to aver that the goddess is holding a *kalaśa* (water pot) in her r. hand. The symbol no doubt looks like a *kalaśa* and is almost touching the r. hand; but the way in which it is opened out shows that it could not have been holding a *kalaśa.*

CLASS III

(LION-RETREATING)

Variety A

(King to l. and lion couchant)

(22) Gold; .95″; 123 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 11.

Obv: King standing to l., tall and majestic, bare-bodied and wearing a *jānghiā*, armlets and wristlets on his person, holding bow in r. hand and arrow in the l. and looking at the lion retreating in his front. Full legend beginning at XII, *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ;* but the last four letters are off the flan.

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to r.; her r. leg folded up, l. one hanging down; noose in r. hand stretched out, and lotus in l. resting on waist. A line between the goddess and the legend on r., *Śrisiṅhavikramaḥ*. Symbol on l.

(**Pl. VII. 5.**)

Variety B

(As above, but lion walking to r.)[1]

(23) Gold; .8″; 122 grains; Lucknow Museum; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 12.

Obv: As above. Legend from I, *Devaśrīmaharajadhara*, at X *Chandraguptaḥ* standing for *Devaśrī-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*.

Rev: Lion walking to r. and goddess seated on him facing, with noose in r. hand and lotus in l. bent and turned up. Symbol on l. Legend, *Siṅhavikramaḥ*.

(**Pl. VII. 6.**)

Variety C

(King to r. and charging with bow)

(24) Gold; .75″; 119.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII. 10.

Obv: King to r. charging with bow and arrow the retreating lion which is apparently turning back its head to

1. *N. Ch.*, 1910. Pl. XIV. 13.

counter-attack. King's l. foot is planted on the ground, and the r. one is raised; appearently he wears a peculiar shoe nailed along its bottom. Circular legend off on r., blurred on l. where we can read traces of *jayatyajeya.*

Rev: Goddess seated on lion couchant to l., facing, with both legs folded up, but the l. being slightly raised, noose in r. hand and lotus in l. resting on waist. Symbol on l., Legend, *(Sa)ṁhavkrama.*

(Pl. VII. 7.)

Variety D

(King attacking with sword)[1]

(25) Gold; .8″; 121.2 grains; Lucknow Museum; *B.M.C.,-G.D.*, Pl. IX. 13.

Obv: King standing to r. and attacking with sword held in r. hand the lion in his front, retreating but also snapping at the king, while doing so; king's l. foot is on the lion's back. Legend from XII, *Narendrachandra prathata ra.*

Rev: Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to r., with both her legs hanging down, holding noose in r. hand and lotus in l., both being outstretched. Symbol on on l. Legend, *Siṁhavikrama.*

(Pl. VII. 9.)

Variety E

(King trampling on retreating lion)

(26) Gold; .75″; 125.5 grains; *Num. Chr.* 1891, Pl. II. 8.[2]

Obv: King bare-bodied shooting arrow at retreating lion, which is turning back its head; king's left foot on the back of the lion. Marginal legend, visible between VII and X, blurred and truncated.

1. *N.Ch.* 1910. Pl. XIV. 14.
2. See also *J.R.A.S.* 1889 p. 88; *Princep's Essays*, Pl. XXX. 2.

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lion couchant to r., holding lotus in l. hand, r. hand opened out and empty. L. leg of the goddess is hanging down. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Siṅhavikramaḥ.*

(**Pl. VII. 8.**)

THE HORSEMAN TYPE

The horseman type is one of the new types introduced by Chandragupta II. He was probably skilled in horsemanship, and may have therefore chosen the king as horseman as a new motif for his coinage. It became the most favourite type with his son Kumārgupta I. Prakāśāditya is the only other Gupta king, who continued this type, but in combination with the Lion-slayer motif.

The coins of this type vary in size from .75″ to .8″. Vast majority of them are issued to the weight standard of 121 grains, but there are a few which weigh 124 and 127 grains also. Mirzapur, Jaunpur, Ayodhya and Bayana are among the recorded find places of this type. There are 12 coins of this type in the British Museum, 4 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 35 in the Indian Museum and 11 in the State Museum, Lucknow. The Bayana hoard contained 82 coins.

In this type the king is shown as riding a caparisoned horse either to right or to left. He is sometimes shown as carrying weapons like the sword or the bow,[1] but some times he is without them. The reverse in all cases except one[2] shows goddess seated on a wicker-stool, holding a noose in r. hand and lotus in the left.

Both the king and the goddess in this class are sometimes nimbate (**Pl. VII. 12, 14**) and sometimes not (**Pl. VII. 13.**). A few coins show a crescent near the top on the obverse (**Pl. VIII. 4.**), but the majority are without it. On one rare coin, we have a crescent both on the obverse, behind the king's head, and

1. Smith had once thought that the king was holding a lance in one case, but he later abandoned this view. The end of the sash was mistaken for a javelin; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 85.
2. This coin, where the goddess is standing, will be described in the Addenda and illustrated on **Pl. XIX.**

on the reverse at the place of the symbol.[1] The posture of the goddess on the reverse is strikingly similar to that on the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The lotus, which she holds in her left hand, has usually a long stalk and the artist, in some cases, has enhanced its beauty by adding leaves and buds to it (Pl. VII. 15). The left hand usually holds a noose, but in one case it is scattering coins (Pl. VII. 3).

Smith had classified the coins of the Horseman type according to the direction of the horse, Horseman to right and Horseman to left. Mr. Allan also divided them into two classes, but his class I consists of coins without symbol on the reverse and class II of those which have a symbol. Symbol however is a minor element on the reverse and it would therefore be better to classifiy the coins with reference to some characteristic peculiarities of the obverse. A horseman is primarily a warrior, and we think that the weapons which the king is carrying should not be left out in the classification of these coins. It would therefore be on the whole satisfactory to follow Smith in dividing the coins into Class I, consisting of those where the horseman is to left, and Class II of those coins where he is to right. Varieties in each class will be determined with reference to the weapons.

In variety A of class I, we find the king riding to left but carrying no weapons (Pl. VII. 11-12). In variety B (Pl. VII. 13-14), he carries a bow in his right hand, which is sometimes visible at its upper end and sometimes at its lower one. In variety C (Pl. VII. 15) there is a sword hanging by his left side.

In Class II also we have similar varieties. But as the king is riding to right, the sword hanging by his left side could naturally not be shown on any specimens; so the variety C of class I is absent here. In variety A (Pl. VII. 1-3) the king is without any weapons, and in variety B (Pl. VII. 4-5), he carries a bow in his right hand.

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IX, Pl. VII. 1.

We now give a full description of this type.

Obv: King sometimes nimbate, riding a full caparisoned horse to r. or l.; wearing *dhotī*, sash (flying behind), ear-rings, armlets, necklace, without weapons in some cases and with weapons in others.) Crescent on some specimens. Legend beginning at I or II, *Paramabhāgavata*[1]-*mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*, (**Pl. XXI. 15**), 'The great devotee of Vishṇu, the emperor Chandragupta.'

Rev: Goddess sometimes nimbate, seated to l. on wicker-stool, noose in r. hand and lotus in l., the stalk in some cases showing leaves. Legend *Ajitavikramaḥ*[2] (**Pl. XXIII. 53**). Symbol on some coins.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 10

CLASS I

(King to left)

Variety A

(King without weapons)[3]

(1) Gold; .8"; 120.9 grains; Lucknow Museum; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 17.

Obv: King not nimbate, riding to l. wearing coat and

1. Kittoe had read the legend as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* instead of *Paramabhāgavata* on a clear specimen of this type in the Bharsar hoard. Very probably it was a mistake in reading. That epithet does not occur on any other coins of the present ruler. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, 109.
2. A Horseman type coin in the Bodleian collection with the legend *Kramajita* (for *Kramāditya, N.Ch.* 1891, Pl. II. 6) was attributed to Chandragupta II by Smith (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, 86). The circular legend on the obverse seems to have begun with *Paramabhāgavata* and so this circumstance would support the view that the coin was issued by Chandragupta II. But the legend is indistinct on the left and king's name cannot be made out. *Kramāditya,* the legend on the reverse, was not used as his epithet by Chandragupta II and the heavy weight of the coin, 140. 5 grains would suggest that it was an issue of Skandagupta, who had adopted the *biruda* of *Kramāditya* and whose legend on silver issues often begins with *Paramabhāgavata.* This coin has been reproduced in this book on **Pl. XIV. 15.**
3. *B.M.C., G,D.*, Pl. IX. 15-17; X. 1-2, 13.

trousers, sash fiying behind him. Legend, beginning at I, *Parama*, from V, *mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandraguptaḥ;* the last letter is between the head of the king and that of the horse on most specimens of this class.

Rev: Goddess nimbate, seated on wicker-stool to l., noose in r. hand, and lotus in l.; notice the bud and leaves of the lotus stalk. Symbol on l. Legend, *Ajitavikrama.*

(Pl. VII. 11.)

(2) Gold; .8″; 127 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIII. 11.

Obv: As above. The king is nimbate and bare-bodied and his muscular torso is very graceful. Hair on the head falls in tresses behind. The circular starry ornament on the haunch of the horse is beautiful and its hair is plated.

Rev: Wicker stool is rather high and the goddess, who is nimbate, raises up her r. foot. Leaves of the lotus stalk visible; symbol on l. Legend, *(A)jatavikrama*, partly truncated.

(Pl. VII. 12.)

Variety B

(King carrying bow)[1]

(3) Gold; .8″; 118.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIII. 8.

Obv: The upper end of the bow visible between the head of the horse and the head of the king. King not nimbate.

Rev: Goddess is nimbate and slightly bent forward. Symbol on l. Legend blurred and truncated.

(Pl. VII. 13.)

(4) Gold; .75″; 121.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIV. 5.

Obv: The king is nimbate and wears cap and holds bow in the r. hand, whose lower end is visible above the haunch of the horse. Legend from I, *Para;* from VII, *dhirāja-śri-Chandraguptaḥ.*

1. *Ibid*, Pl. X. 6-7.

Rev: This side is blurred. Goddess is nimbate and sitting straight. A dotted line beteween her and the legend *Ajatavakrama*. Symbol blurred.

(Pl. VII. 14.)

Variety C

(King with bow and sword)[1]

(5) Gold; .8″; 121.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XII. 14.

Obv: Sword can be clearly seen dangling by the l. side of the king, who is not nimbate. The upper end of the bow is visible between the heads of the king and the horse. Legend from I, *Paramabhāgavata*, from V, *mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandra.pta*, partly truncated.

Rev: Goddess is nimbate. Lotus stalk has leaves and buds. Symbol on l. Legend, *Ajitavikramaḥ*.

(Pl. VII. 15.)

CLASS II

(King to right)

Variety A

(King without weapons)[2]

(6) Gold; .8″; 121.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIV. 10.

Obv: King not nimbate riding to r. Legend from III, partly truncated, *Paramabhāga(vatamahārājādhirā)ja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ; ptaḥ* is at I.

Rev: Goddess is not nimbate. Lotus is full blown and graceful and its stalk has no leaves or buds. Symbol on l. Legend, *Ajitavikramaḥ*.

(Pl. VIII. 1.)

(7) Gold; .8″; 121.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIV. 13.

Obv: The king is not nimbate. The horse is in full gallop. Legend, from I, blurred, *Paramabhāgavatamahārājādhirāja*, on l., traces of *Chandragputaḥ*.

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1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. IX, 15; X.6.; *N.Ch.* 1889, Pl. II.5; 1910, Pl. XIV. 4-5.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. IX. 14; X. 4-5, 11-13.

Rev: Goddess is nimbate and she wears a cap. Symbol on l. Legend *Ajitavikrama.*

(Pl. VIII. 2.)

(8) Gold; .75″; 119.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIV. 8.

Obv: The mane of the horse is plaited and its plume can be distinctly seen. A pearl string behind the cap of the king, who is not nimbate. Legend, at XII, *Parama-bhāgavata* faint traces of letters at X.

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, is scattering round coins by her r. hand. Perhaps traces of a symbol on l. Legend. *(Aji) tavikrama.*

(Pl. VIII. 3.)

(9) Gold; .85″; weight not known; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. X. 4.[1]

Obv: King's hair is tied in a knot at the top of his head; he is not nimbate. Crescent behind the head. Legend from XII, partly truncated; *Paramabhāgavatamahā-(rājādhi)rā* (at VI) *śri-Chandraguptaḥ;* the subscript *ta* is very big.

Rev: Goddess is nimbate. Noose is blurred and the stalk of the lotus is small. Symbol on l. Legend, *Ajitavikrâmaḥ.*

(Pl. XIII. 4.)

Variety B

(King with bow)[2]

(10) Gold; .8″; 123.6 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 9.

Obv: King is not nimbate. Notice the armlet on king's l. arm and the beads on the strap passing the tail of the horse. Upper end of the bow visible between the head of the king and that of the horse. Legend off the flan on r., from VIII *rāja-śri-Chandraguptaḥ*, truncated.

Rev: Goddess is nimbate. Three bands of the wicker-stool are distinct. No symbol. A line between the goddess and the legend, *Ajitavikrama.*

(Pl. VIII. 5.)

1. *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., p. 83, Pl. III. 7.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 8-9.

CHHATRA TYPE

The Chhatra type is another innovation introduced by Chandragupta II.[1] Coins of this type vary in size from .75" to .85" in diameter. The vast majority of them conform to the weight standard of 121 grains and only a few to that of 124 grains. None has been found so far issued to the standard of 127 grains. The British and the Indian Museums have six coins each of this type and the Ashmolean Museum and the Lucknow Museum have four each. The Bayana hoard contained 57 coins of this type, five being of class I and 52 of class II.

The obverse of this type shows the king facing to left and offering oblations upon altar, as in the Standard type of Samudragupta. The king's left hand, however, is not holding any standard but resting upon the hilt of the sword hanging by his left side. The king sometimes wears a *dhotī* (**Pl. VIII. 6, 9, 12** etc), sometimes trousers (**Pl. VIII. 7-8**) and sometimes a half-pant (**Pl. VIII. 10**). He is sometimes bare-headed (**Pl. VIII. 10, 12-14**), sometimes he wears a cap (**Pl. VIII. 9**) and sometimes a crown with a crest (**Pl. VIII. 7**).

Behind the king is a dwarf attendant, holding a parasol over the king's head; he reminds us of the frequent references in Sanskrit literature to dwarf attendants in the royal household discharging different duties. The dwarf attendant on the coins is a male. He is seen wearing a coat in some cases (**Pl. VIII. 10.**) and a boot in others (**Pl. VIII. 7-9**). In some cases, however, the figure of the dwarf resembles that of

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1. The view advocated by Thomas that the Chhatra type coins should be attributed to Chandragupta I (*J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 92) is untenable. It is true that the obverse motif of king offering oblation on altar recalls the motif on the Late Kushāṇa coins from where it is borrowed. But this motif persisted down to the regin of Kumāragupta I, on whose Swordsman type it is seen to occur. The *biruda* on the reverse, *Vakramāditya*, conclusively shows that the Chhatra type was issued by Chandragupta II; his grand-father is not known to have adopted this title.

a female with prominent breasts (**Pl. VIII. 12-14**). Females are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature as carrying the parasol or the *chourī* in the royal retenue; sculptures at Amaravati confirm the evidence of literature. It is therefore not unlikely that some mint-masters might have preferred to represent the parasol-bearer as a female. The figure, however, is too small to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion. None of the parasol bearers is, however, so distinctly feminine in look as the admittedly female umbrella-bearers on the reverse of the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumārgupta I.

Oblations falling from the king's hand are artistically shown in several cases. A number of them, round in size, can be seen falling in a heap or in a pair of parallel lines on some coins (**Pl. VIII. 7, 10**). The flames of the altar can be seen in some cases (**Pl. VIII. 6, 11, 13** etc). In one case (**Pl. VIII. 8.**) the altar looks like a *Śivaliṅga* with its base (*archikā*), but this resemblance is probably accidental.

The reverse shows Lakshmī standing. She holds a noose in right hand; in one case it resembles rather a rosary or a garland, or two rows of coins falling down from the deity's hand (**Pl. VIII. 13**). Left hand usually carries a lotus with a long stalk; in one case, however (**Pl. VIII. 12**), it hangs down empty by her side. She is shown in different postures; they will be referred to when describing the different varieties of this class.

Following Mr. Allan, we divide the coins of the Chhatra type into two classes. Class I (**Pl. VIII. 6**) consists of those coins which have the prose legend *Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandraguptaḥ* on the obverse. The coins of this class are rare. only seven being found so far. In class II (**Pl. VIII. 7-15**), the obverse shows the metrical legend *Kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ*. Coins of this class are fairly numerous.

We can distinguish several varieties in class II according to the posture of the goddess. In variety A (**Pl. VIII. 7-8**), the goddess is standing on a conventional lotus. Smith had

thought this object to be a monster, but it distinctly looks like a lotus on some specimens (**Pl. VIII. 7**). In variety B (**Pl. VIII. 9-10**), the goddess stands on a low pedestal; on one rare coin we see her lifting up her right foot, as if with a view to descend down (**Pl. VIII. 10**). Coins of this variety are rare. In variety C (**Pl. VIII. 11-12**), the goddess is seen standing three fourths to left upon a circular mat and in variety D (**Pl. VIII. 13-14**), she is shown as walking to left. The posture of the feet in both the varieties is similar; we presume that she is standing in the former variety, because there is a circular mat under her feet, and walking in the latter, because there is no such mat. On those pieces where the feet do not appear on the flan in their entirety (**Pl. VIII. 14**), it is not easy to state whether the goddess is really walking or standing. The variety E (**Pl. VIII. 15**) is so far known from only two coins; it shows the goddess running to left. The posture of her arms and feet undoubtedly suggests that she is running rather than walking.

We now proced to describe the two main classes in full detail.

CHHATRA TYPE

CLASS I

(With prose legend)[1]

Obv: King, nimbate, standing l. offering oblations (*puroḍāśas*) on altar in his front with r. hand, l. hand resting on sword; behind him a dwarf attendant holding state umbrella (*chhatra*) over him.
Circular legend (beginning at I), *Mahārājādhi-rāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*; (**Pl. XXI. 13**) 'King of kings, His Majesty Chandragupta.'

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī nimbate, standing three-fourths to l. on a lotus, holding noose in r. hand and lotus in l.; border of dots. Symbol on l. in most cases.
Legend; *Vikramādityaḥ* (**Pl. XXIII. 52**).

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VIII, 1; *I.M.C.*, Pl. XIV, 1.

CLASS II

(With metrical legend)[1]

Obv: As in class I, but the legend is *Kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.* (**Pl. XXI. 14**); 'Having conquered the earth, Vikramāditya wins the heaven by his meritorious deeds.' Metre; Upagīti.

Rev: Lakshmī nimbate, standing, walking or double marching and holding a noose in outstretched r. hand and usually having a lotus in l. Symbol on l. in most cases. Legend, *Vikramādityaḥ.*[2]

(**Pl. XXIII. 52.**)

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 10

CLASS I

(With prose legend)

(1) Gold; .85″; 118.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XV. 6.

Obv: King is standing to left and empting out his hand over the altar, from which two flames are coming up. Crest upon his forehead. Legend from I, *Mahā-rājādhirāja*, on r., *śrī-Chandragupta*, blurred and partly truncated.

Rev: Goddess standing three-fourth to l.; the lotus on which she is standing in distinct. Stalk of the lotus in l. hand is twisted.

(**Pl. VIII. 6.**)

CLASS II

(With metrical legend)

Variety A

(Goddess standing facing)

(2) Gold; .85″; 120.4 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XV. 7.

Obv: King wears crown crest; 12 *puroḍāśas* fall down on the altar from his hand. Dwarf behind him wears

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 2-10.

2. In some cases the second letter is written as *kra* and in some as *kkra.*

a boot. Legend, from I, *Kshitimavajitya sucharitai,* most medial vowels being clear.

Rev: Goddess standing facing; the lotus on which she stands is rudely shown; both her hands are stretched out. Legend, *Vikramāditya.*

(**Pl. VIII. 7.**)

(3) Gold; .8″; weight not known; *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. VIII. 4.

Obv: King's figure is tall; the altar in his front looks like a *Śivaliṅga* with its *archā;* legend, *Kshatamavajatya suchara.*

Rev: As above. Legend, *Vakramāditya.*

(**Pl. VIII. 8.**)

Variety B

(Goddess standing on a pedestal)

(4) Gold; .8″; 122 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XV. 13.

Obv: As above, but the king wears a close-fitting cap with a pearl string hanging behind. Legend, *Kshitimava.*

Rev: Goddess standing three-fourths to left on a low pedestal; Legend, *Vikramāditya.*

(**Pl. VIII. 9.**)

(5) Gold; .8″; 120 grains; *J.N.S.I.*, XI, Pl. III. 8.

Obv: King is bare-headed and wears short-sleeved coat and short. *Puroḍāśas* fall down in two parallel rows. Dwarf also wears coat and shorts. Umbrella almost off the flan.

Rev: Goddess as above, but she is lifting the r. foot as if to get down. No symbol. Legend blurred.

(**Pl. VIII. 10.**)

Variety C

(Goddess standing on a mat)

(6) Gold; .8″; 119.7 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XV. 15.

Obv: King is bare-headed and probably bare-bodied, objects falling from his hand not visible. Note the

ornamental girdle of the dwarf. Umbrella is off the flan. Legend, from VII, *va jayati Vikramāditya.*

Rev: Goddess standing on a mat three-fourth to left, and about to walk. Her figure is graceful and the lotus in her hand is full-blown. Legend, *Vakkramāditya;* note the double *kk.*

(Pl. VIII. 11.)

(7) Gold; .75″; 120 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VIII. 10.

Obv: Legend, *Kshitamava.*

Rev: As above; l. hand of the goddess is hanging empty by her side. Probably no symbol, or it is blurred. Legend, *Vikkramāditya.*

(Pl. VIII. 12.)

Variety D

(Goddess walking to l.)

(8) Gold; 75″; 120 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XV. 14.

Obv: As above; king is bare-bodied and bare-headed. Legend from I, *Kshitmavajatya,* at VIII, *maditya.*

Rev: The figure of the goddess is graceful, and so also is her interesting head-dress. It is not clear as to whether she is holding a noose or a garland in r. hand or scattering coins by it. Legend, *Vikramādityaḥ.*

(Pl. VIII. 13.)

(9) Gold; 75″; 122.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVI. 5.

Obv: As above. King is bare-headed and wears armlets. Dwarf supports his l. hand on the bent up knee, as he holds the umbrella which is off the flan. Legend blurred and truncated, but the flourish of the subscript *ya* above the dwarf's head is noticeable.

Rev: The hair of the goddess is tied in a knot on the head and she is lifting her l. foot while walking. Legend, blurred, *madityaḥ.* The subscript of *ya* is noticeable.

(Pl. VIII. 14.)

Variety E

(Goddess running to l.)

(10) Gold; .78″; 118.8 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XVI. 7.

Obv: *Puroḍāśas* falling from the hand are fairly visible. Dwarf wears a necklace, and the posture of his feet is noteworthy. Legend, from I, *Kshatamajatya*, partly truncated.

Rev: Goddess running to left as indicated by the posture of her arms. Legend, *Vakramāda*.

(**Pl. VIII. 15.**)

COUCH TYPE

The coins of the Couch type vary in size from .8″ to .85″. They were issued to the standard of 121 grains. One piece in the British Museum weighs 114.7 grains, but it is rather worn out. The coins of this class are rare; the British Museum, the Indian Museum, the Lucknow Museum and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay have each only one specimen. The Bayana hoard had three.

On the obverse of this type we see the king seated upon a couch. He is bare-bodied and usually holds a flower in his right hand, the left hand resting upon the couch. The reverse as a rule shows the goddess seated upon throne, but sometimes on a backless couch.

This type is obviously adapted from the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. On both, the king is sitting facing and bare-bodied upon a couch. Samudragupta is, however, represented as playing on a lyre. Chandragupta probably was not a musician like his father and did not therefore allow himself to be shown as playing on lute during his leisure hours. In one variety (**Pl. IX. 5**), the goddess on the reverse is seated on a wicker-stool partially resembleing its prototype, but on others (**Pl. IX. 1-4**) she is seated on a throne in a posture strikingly similar to that of the Throne reverse class of the Archer type of the present ruler (**Pl. IV. 6-12**). On the strength of the circumstance that

the form of *ha* as seen on early specimens was of the eastern variety, it had been argued that this type may have been issued at Pāṭaliputra;[1] and because its reverse imitates the reverse of the Throne-reverse class of the Archer type, it was suggested that the type may have been issued early in the reign and was probably connected with the coronation. On other specimens, since discovered, western forms of *ma* and *ha* are used, and even if we suppose that these forms had a geographical significance, we cannot now conclude that these coins were issued at Pāṭaliputra only.

The circular legend on the obverse is in prose and is either *Devaśrī-mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandraguptasya* or —*pta Vikramādityasya* or *Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*.

On one variety, there is an additional legend *Rūpākṛitī* just below the couch. The proper interpretation of this term is, however, not easy. The last letter is distinctly *tī;* we cannot therefore read the legend as *rūpākṛitiḥ*, meaning (king's) figure on the coin (*rupe akṛitiḥ*) or the beautiful figure (of the king), (*rūpayuktā ākṛitiḥ*).

Rupa technically denotes a certain variety of drama in Sanskrit, and had the legend been *rūpakritī*, it would have been possible to interpret it as one who is expert or successful (*kṛitin*) in composing *rūpa*, a variety of drama. Chandragupta is well known as a parton of literature and may himself have been a dramatist. But the legend in question distinctly reads as *rūpākṛitī*, and not as *rūpakṛitī*, so this interpretation is impossible, unless we suppose that *rūpākṛitī* is a mistake for *rūpakṛitī*. It may be, however, pointed out that what is usually taken as the medial *ā* stroke of *pa* is quite detached from that letter, and it may be due to a flaw in the die. In that case the legend would read *rūpakṛitī* and mean 'one who is skilled in dramatic composition,' or 'one who has gained his end in dramatic composition.'

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. lxxi.

The problem of the correct interpretation of the legend can be solved only by fresh discoveries of better coins.

In variety A of this class (**Pl. IX. 1**) the circular legend, beginning at VIII, is *Devaśrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya Vikramādityasya* (**Pl. XXI. 16**). It is only in this variety that the mysterious legend *rūpākṛitī* occurs below the couch. The reverse shows the goddess seated upon a throne, holding lotus in left hand, right hand being open and empty. The legend is *Śrivīkkramaḥ*, written on the left, but it does not displace the symbol.

In variety B (**Pl. IX. 2**), the circular legend is abbreviated into *Deva-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya* (**Pl. XXI. 16**). The reverse is the same as that of the variety A, but the legend is on the right as usual.

Variety C (**Pl. IX. 3**) differs from variety A in not having the legend *rupākṛitī* on the obverse and from variety B in having the reverse legend on the left instead of the right.

Variety D (**Pl. IX. 4**) resembles variety C in the obverse, but the right hand of the goddess on the reverse is not empty. but holds a noose and the legend is on right.

In variety E (**Pl. IX. 5**), the king is seated three-fourths to left. His left hand is resting upon the back of the couch and he is offering by his right hand a bud of lotus apparently to an object of worship in his front, which is only partially visible upon the coin. There is a spitoon below the couch. The legend, which begins at I, is incomplete; we can read *Paramabhāgavata-mahā* and can therefore conjecturally complete it with *rājādhi-rāja-śri-Chandraguptaḥ*. The goddess on the reverse is also seated on a backless couch, partly resembling a wicker-stool. Her left hand is empty by her side and the right hand holds apparently a lotus bud with long stalk. There is no symbol and the legend is *Vikramādityaḥ*.

As each variety is represented by only one or two coins, no general description of the type is necessary.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 5

Variety A

(With the legend *Rūpākṛiti*)

(1) Gold; .8″; 118 grains; *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XV. 10.

Obv: King wearing waist cloth and jewelry seated facing, but head to l., on high-backed couch holding flower in uplifted r. hand, the left hand resting on the edge of the couch; circular legend, beginning at VII, *Devaśrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Cha*, on r., *ndra-(gupta) sya (Vikra)māditayasa.* 'Of the emperor, His Majesty, Chandragupta Vikramāditya.' Letters on r. are blurred. Beneath the couch, *rūpākṛiti*, 'successful in dramatic composition (?)' or 'of graceful figure (?)'

Rev: Goddess seated on throne, her feet rest on lotus; her r. hand is opened out and empty and the l. one holds a lotus. Legend on l., *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*; symbol above it.

(Pl. IX. 1.)

Variety B

(As above, but without the legend *Rūpākṛiti*)

(2) Gold; .8″; 114.7 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. VI. 8.

Obv: Similar to variety A, but the legend omits the the concluding word *Vikramādityasya* and begins at IX. Letters are bigger and clearer, though truncated at several places. *Chandraguptasya* occurs after IV, and *ptasya* just below the couch. The flower in r. hand is crudely engraved and was mistaken by Smith for a quiver.

Rev: As above, but the legend *Śrīvikrama* is on r. as usual.

(Pl. IX. 2.)

Variety C

(As variety B, but reverse legend on r.)

(3) Gold; .8″; 120.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII. 12.

Obv: As in var. B. Body of the king is muscular and the flower in his r. hand is distinct. Legend beginning

at VIII, truncated on l. It appears to have begun with *Mahārājā* and not with *Devaśrī;* from IX, *rājādharāja*, on r. *Śri-Chandraguptasya*, very clear.

Rev: Goddess as in veriety B, but legend *Śrīvikrama* on r. and not on l.

(Pl. IX. 3)

Variety D

(Goddess has noose in r. hand)

(4) Gold; .8″; 119.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XVIII. 13.

Obv: As above, but legend from VII, *Davaśramahā*, from II, *dhirāja-śri-Cha*, truncated.

Rev: Goddess as above, but holds a noose in r. hand. Lotus in l. hand is very clear. Both hands are bent up. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Śrīvikkrama.*

(Pl. IX. 4)

Variety E

(With the legend, *Paramabhāgavata*)

(5) Gold; .8″; 118.5 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XVIII. 11.

Obv: King seated three-fourths to l. on a couch with pearl-bedecked high back. All four legs of the couch are visible. King's l. arm rests on the back of the couch and in his r. hand he is holding a lotus bud with long stalk, which he is apparently offering to an object of worship, which is but partly visible on the coin and cannot therefore be identified. A spitoon below the couch. Legend, beginning at I, *Paramabhāgavatamaha.*

Rev: Goddess seated upon a backless couch covered with lotus. There is a rectangular object below the couch the nature of which cannot be made out. She holds a flower with a long stalk in her r. hand, hanging empty by her side. No symbol. Legend, *Vikramāditya;* notice how the flourishes of the subscripts of the

letters *kra* and *tya* form almost a continuous line, which appears to seperate the goddess from the legend.

(Pl. IX. 5)

KING-AND-QUEEN-ON-COUCH TYPE

This type is so far known from a unique coin purchased by Mr. Boeys at Badauli, about 25 miles from Ayodhya. As it was bought not from a dealer but from a common man at a little above its bullion value, it cannot be suspected to be a modern forgery. Its execution is somewhat coarse, but that is the case also with some of the genuine coins of Chandragupta II. This coin is at present in the collection of Mr. D. C. Hamilton[1] of Messrs. Killick Nixon and Co., but I could not procure it or its fresh photograph for examination; the coin is in a bank in India, while Mr. Hamilton is in Pakistan.

The photograph of the coin published in *Pr. A.S.B.*[2] and reproduced here (Pl. IX. 6) is not very clear. The obverse appears to have been imperfectly struck. The coin appears to have slipped on the die; many of the letters appear double struck, slightly overlapping each other. Hoernle read the legend on the left as *Paramabhaga*. According to him, it begins at

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1. Mr. Hamilton wrote to me on 14. 8. 1950 that the coin was in India and he could not get it sent to him in Pakistan at Karachi. While in England, he had shown the coin to Mr. Allan who wrote to him as follows:—
"I am really puzzled by this coin. Śrī-Vikrama suggests Chandragupta II but I am not absolutely certain that the name below the arm is Chandra, though I cannot think what else it can be meant for. The lettering on the reverse though clear is unusually weak. I cannot make sense of the obverse. It was suggested by Vincent Smith that the frequently recurring *tha* is a sign of contraction, but I know no parallel for this. I can see no trace of any of the usual Gupta legends. Chandragupta II is bareheaded with curly locks, while this king has a headdress like Samudragupta or Chandragupta I on the marriage coins. This evidence points to Chandragupta I but I am not certain."
2. *Pr. A.S.B.*, 1888, pp. 129-30.

VIII, where we have the letters *para* followed by a circle. Then comes the letter *ma* again followed by a hollow circle. Next follow the letters *bhaga* and then again comes a hollow circle. Hoernle opined that the hollow circle following *bhaga* indicates that it is an abbreviation of *bhāgavata;* the earlier hollow circles are without any significance. According to our view *pa* is off the flan, *ra* appears like a *ru* or *ñu*, *ma* with line at the base is quite distanct, *bha* is possible and *ga* is doubtful. The legend on the right hand side is read as *Pravīraḥ Guptaḥ* by Hoernle. The facsimile raises doubts about this reading. *Va* appears to be a *cha* and *ra* to be *ndra*; next comes probably the letter *ga* followed by a *pta*. What looks like a faint *pra* is most probably a *Śrī* and the legend on the right side is thus probably *Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* rather than *Pravīraḥ Guptaḥ*, as read by by Hoernle. Legend *Pravīraḥ Guptaḥ* is intrinsically a very improbable one.

The legend under the arm of the king is clearly *Chandra*; only *Cha* has become double owing to the slipping of the die. On the reverse we have *Śrī-vikramaḥ* also quite indisputably. The coin therefore has to be attributed to Chandragupta II, who had first assumed this title. At any rate there is so far no evidence to show that it had been adopted by his grandfather Chandragupta I, and so we cannot follow Hoernle in preferring to ascribe it to the founder of the Gupta empire rather than to his grandson. The weight of the coin 112.5 grains may *prima facie* appear to support Hoernle's opinion; but it must be remembered that the Bayana hoard has disclosed about a dozen coins of Chandragupta II weighing even less than 112 grains. The light weight of the piece, 112.45 grains, does not therefore by itself render its ascription to Chandragupta II improbable.

Like the Couch type of Chandragupta II, this type is also a very rare one at present; in fact only one coin of the type is known.[1] Probably it was issued contemporaneously

1. At Lucknow I had heard a report in 1948 that a dealer there had a second specimen; I could however never see it.

with the Couch type or soon after it. Hoernle thought that the type probably represented a drinking scene in the private life of the emperor. The object in the king's hand being offered to the queen has, however, not even the faintest resemblance to a drinking glass or even to any ordinary cup. Hindu taste would not also approve of such a scene in the private life of the king being publicised on coin. The object has got a long and slightly curved handle with a knob at the top. It is an ornament, most probably a *sindūradānī.*

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 1

Gold; .85″; 112.5 grains; *Pro. A.S.B.*, 1888., Pl. VI.

Obv: King, nimbate and in tailed long coat and trousers standing to left, offering incense on an altar before him and holding a standard in the r. hand, as on the Standard type of Samudragupta; Garuḍa standard behind the r. hand. Under the l. arm, *Chandra.* Circular legend, commencing at VIII, *Para(?)mabhaga....śrī-Chandragupta.*

Rev: King and the Queen nimbate, sitting on a couch facing each other, king being to r. and queen to l. The r. leg of the king is tucked up and the l. one is hanging down. The queen sits with r. leg hanging down, supporting herself with the r. arm on the corner of the couch, the left one being akimbo. The king is dressed in a *dhotī* reaching upto his knees and the queen in a bodice and *sārī* of the normal type. Both wear bracelets, earrings, head-ornaments, and nacklaces, and the queen having anklets in addition. The king is offering to the queen an object with a curved handle and a thick knob at the top. Possibly it is a *sindūradānī.* Crescent between the two. Legend on the margin behind the queen, *Śrī-Vi* and behind the king, *kramaḥ.*

(Pl. IX. 6)

STANDARD TYPE

The Standard type of Chandragupta II is so far known from a single specimen, now in the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras Hindu University. We proceed to describe it fully.

Gold; .8″; 118 grains; Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IX., Pl. VII. 3.

Obv: King nimbate, standing to l. wearing coat, trousers, earrings and nacklace, holding in l. hand a standard adorned with fillet and offering by r. hand oblations on altar in his front. Garuḍa standard behind the altar. Under king's l. arm *Chandragu(pta)*, written perpendicularly. Circular legend beginning at I, *Vasudha vijitya jayata tradava prithavaśvaraḥ*, standing for *Vasudhāṁ vijitya jayati tridivaṁ pṛithiviśvaraḥ (puṇyaiḥ)* (**Pl. XXV. 66**), 'Having conquered the globe, the lord of the earth (now) wins heaven by meritorious deeds.'
Metre, Upagīti.

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, seated on throne, facing, holding noose in outstretched r. hand and cornucopiæ in in the l., resting on thigh. On the r. the legend, *Paramabhāgavata*. Symbol probably beaten out later by hammering. There is a hammering mark in the upper left quadrant and the coin has also suffered from a scissor cut extending from II, right up to its centre.

Mr. P.L. Gupta, who published the coin, attributed it to Chandragupta II.[1] Later on Dr. Chhabra advanced the theory that the coin should be assigned to Chandragupta I.[2] His main arguments are the following:—

1. The legend on this coin either on the obverse or on the reverse, has not got the distinctive epithet *Vikrama*. On all the

1. *J.N.S.I.*, IX., p. 146, Pl. VII. 3.
2. *Ibid*, XI., pp. 15ff.

coins of Chandragupta II, this epithet occurs either alone or in conjunction with some other word like *Ajita* or *Siṁha*.

2. Chandragupta II is not known to have issued any coins of the Standard type. The type was discontinued after the regin of Samudragupta, and it is therefore better to assume that the present coin was issued by Chandragupta I.

3. Chandragupta I may have issued some coins in the Standard type after the death of his consort Kumāradevī, when the King and the Queen type could no longer be continued with propriety.

4. All Gupta emperors were devotees of Vishṇu. It is therefore not at all impossible that Chandragupta I also may have taken the title *Paramabhāgavata*. In fact the Gayā and Nālandā copper-plates of Samudragupta do describe him as *Paramabhāgavata;* and it is quite possible that his father too may have taken that epithet.

The above arguments are, however, not convincing. As to No. 1, it may be pointed out that on one variety of the Archer type of Chandragupta II, the title *Vikrama* does not occur either on the obverse or on the reverse (*ante*, p. 101, **Pl. V. 7**); the same is the case with one coin of the Lion-slayer type of this emperor where the reverse legend in *Siṁhachandraḥ*, (*ante*, p. 118 **Pl. VII. 4**).

As to argument No. 2, it may be pointed out that on the King-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch type, issued by Chandragupta II, which we have just described (p. 141, **Pl. IX. 6**), the king on the obverse does carry a standard in his left hand; so we cannot maintain that the Standard type was altogther tabooed by Chandragupta II.

Arguments No. 3 and 4 do make out a plausible case in favour of attributing the present coin to Chandragupta I. There is nothing improbable in Chandragupta I, who was a Vaishṇava, having taken the title *Paramabhāgavata*. The Standard type was so popular with the numismatic tradition

as developed under the later Kushāṇas, that we find it to be the predominating type with Samudragupta. If we assume that Kumāradevī predeceased her husband, it is diffcult to believe that Chandragupta may not have issued some coins in the Standard type, which was then so popular.

The point however can be finally settled when we get more historical and numismatic evidence to decide it. For the present, I am inclined to attribute this unique coin to Chandragupta II rather than to Chandragupta I. There is no definite independent evidence yet forthcoming that the title *Paramabhāgavata* was actually adopted by any predecessor of Chandragupta II; the Gayā and Nālandā plates are forgeries and it is well-known how forgers often transfer the epithets and titles of one king to another. In the Allahabad pillar inscription Samudragupta is not described as *Paramabhāgavata*. There is no evidence yet forthcoming to show that Kumāradevī had predeceased her husband, rendering the abandonment of the King-and-the-Queen type a practical proposition for Chandragupta I. Chandragupta II did issue some coins where the Standard type was continued, as is shown by the King-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch type. It is therefore quite likely that he may have for some time given a trial to the Standard type, so popular with his father, before deciding to discontinue it.

STANDARD TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA

(Issued by a Scythian feudatory ?)[1]

In 1890 Rodgers had sent a coin in pale gold to V.A. Smith, whose description was noted by him as follows:—

Pale gold; 118.75 grains; size not noted; condition good; purchased for Rs. 16.

Obv: King standing to l., casting incense on altar; trident with fillet on stem above altar; king's left arm

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 145; see also *J.N.S.I.*, IX. pp. 149-50.

raised and passed through the loop of spear. Legend arranged vertically; under the arm *Chandra* perpendicularly, and outside spear (?), *gupta* perpendicularly. But of this latter word only the character *p* seemed distinct. Rodgers was inclined to read the word *Shāka.*

Rev: Throned goddess, carrying cornucopiæ; her body attenuated and wasp-like. No legend.

It is most unfortunate that this coin should not have been illustrated. It appears to have been similar to a coin of Samudragupta, which we have discussed before at p. 52, (**Pl. II. 11**). The coin was obtained by Rodgers at Haripura in the Punjab, and bears a striking resemblance to the Shāka and Shīlada, coins deseribed earlier by us at pp. 36-7, (**Pl. I. 3, 5**). If the description of the coin as noted by Smith is correct, we can explain the coin as an issue of a later Kushāṇa feudatory of the Gupta emperor ruling near Haripura, and issuing coins in the name of his feudal lord Chandragupta. This coin will then tend to show that Chandragupta II had a sufficiently effective control over the Scythian rulers of the Punjab and that some of them continued to issue coins in the name of their feudal lord, as had been done by earlier rulers in the reign of Samudragupta.

Unfortunately the photograph of this coin has not been published and Smith and Rodgers, who were both experienced numismatists, differ in their readings. Smith thought that outside the spear there was *gupta,* though he could be sure only of the letter *p.* Rodgers thought that there the legend was *Shāka.* Both however, agreed that under the arm of the king was written *Chandra.*

While conceding the possibility,—as I have already done above,—of some petty Scythian ruler of the Punjab having issued coins in the name of his feudal lord, Chandragupta II, I cannot exclude the chance of Smith and Rodgers having

mistaken a coin of Bhadra for that of Chandragupta. I am reproducing a coin of this type (Pl. I. 5). Under the arm of the king, the legend is *Bhadra*. But the top line of *dra* joins together the two lower limbs of *bha* and the letter can easily be mistaken for *Cha*. Instead of *Bhadra*, one can therefore easily mistake the legend for *Cha(m)dra*. On the coin illuatrated, outside the standard, there is an enigmatic *Brāhmī* legend, which has been read as *Shīlada* by Cunningham. But *la* and *da* are so joined together on the present coin that the lower letter does look like a *pta*, as Smith had thought. The upper letter does look like a *sha* and *ka* joined together, and if the coin of Rodgers had not the lower letter fully preserved, as is evident from Smith saying that only a trace of *p* could be seen, it is quite easy to understand how Rodgers took the legend to be *Shāka*. On the whole I am inclined to think that the unpublished coin of Rodgers was most probably a coin of Bhadra, similar to but not so well preserved as the coin illustrated by us (**Pl. 1.5**).

We now proceed to describe this coin.

Gold; .8″; weight not recorded; *C.L.I.S.*, Pl. II. 12.

Obv: King with coat, trousers and peaked cap standing to l. and offering oblations on an alter. Triśūla in his front. Under the arm, *Bhadra*, but as the serif of *dra* touches both the lower limbs of *bha*, the letter looks like *cha*, the legend appearing as *Chaṁdra*. Outside the Standard *Shīlada*, but the lower letter looks like *pta* as taken by Smith and the upper one like *shaka* as supposed by Rodgers.

Rev: Goddess seated on throne, legend illegible.

(Pl. I. 5)

CHAKRAVIKRAMA TYPE

This type is known from a single specimen found in the Bayana hoard. We proceed to give its full description.

Gold; .75″; 116.7 grains (but slightly worn); *B.H.* Pl. XVIII. 14.

Obv: God Chakrapurusha, (personification of *Sudarśana-chakra* of Vishṇu) is standing to right within a double-rimmed wheel, oval in shape and going round his entire person above the knees. The spokes of the rim are indicated by its knobs appearing outside the inner and outer rims of the wheel and its extant portion shows 38 or 39 of them. The deity is wearing a crown but is bare-bodied, wearing *dhotī*, necklace and wristlets, holding a mace (*gadā*) in the left hand hanging by his side and offering by right hand, bent and raised up, three round objects, held in his palm, to king standing facing him, nimbate, bare-headed, and wearing earrings, necklace, armlets, tunic and trousers with prominent folds round the legs. He is extending his right hand, bent up, to receive the divine gift; his left hand is placed on the hilt of a sword hanging by the left leg. The sword is fastened by a strap to the king's waist, which passes through a hole in the hilt. No legend on the obverse.

Rev: Within dotted border, Lakshmī, not nimbate, standing three-fourths to left, on a lotus, wearing *sārī*, upper garment and earrings, right hand bent, its forefinger apparently pointing at something, left hand hanging down, slightly bent, and holding a lotus with a long stalk having a bud as well. A conch below the right hand and a symbol above it. Legend on r., *Chakravikrama(ḥ)*.

This unique coin does not give the name of the issuer, but its attribution to Chandragupta II is rendered almost certain by the *biruda Vikrama*, which forms part of the legend on the reverse. *Chakravikrama* is similar in composition to *Ajitavikrama* and *Siṁhavikrama*, which occur on the Horseman and the Lion-slayer types of Chandragupta II.

Chandragupta II was a great devotee of Vishṇu, as is shown by one of his coin legends which describes him as *paramabhāgavata*. He also appears to have erected a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* at the famous *tīrtha* of Vishṇupada somewhere on the Beas in the South-eastern Punjab.[1] The present type shows how he claimed to be the direct recipient of a favour from god Chakrapurusha, one of the Āyudhapurushas of Vishṇu, who in the Gupta age, was believed to personify the power of Vishṇu himself.

The present writer had earlier held the view that the Divine Personage on the obverse should be identified rather with Vishṇu than with his Āyudhapurusha Chakra, on the ground that, if the king was to be represented as receiving a favour direct from God, he would naturally be represented as Vishṇu rather than his Āyudhapurusha Chakra.[2] The new evidence subsequently brought to light by Mr. C. Sivarammurti[3] and Dr. V. S. Agrawala[4] tends to show that the figure is that of Chakrapurusha rather than that of Vishṇu. Vishṇu with two hands only is unknown; Chakra-purusha has often two hands, though he sometimes has more. *The Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* shows that Chakra or Sudarśana-chakra, the most effective weapon of Vishṇu, was identified with the Golden Purusha inside the Sun and even with the Supreme Being who is the Mover of the Great Wheel of the Universe (*jagachchakra*), i.e. with Vishṇu himself.[5] The glorification of *Chakra* is carried to the extreme; we are told that whatever can

1. Mehrauli pillar inscription, *C.I.I.* III, p. 141. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 275. It is almost certain that king Chandra of this record is the same as Chandragupta II.
2. *Ante*, p. 23., *J.N.S.I.* X, p. 103., *B.H.*, p. xcii.
3. *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, p. I80.
4. *Ibid*, XVI, p. 97.
5. योऽयं कालाख्यचक्रस्य प्रेरक: पुरुषोऽव्यय: ।
युगचक्रस्य नेतारमेनमेव विदुर्बुधा: ।
एवंमहर्षयोऽप्याहुर्जगच्चक्रं प्रवर्तकम् ।। 36. 33-4.

be described as fit to be worshipped is but only a manifestation of Chakra-purusha. This Chakra-purusha is identified with Vishṇu himself, *Chakrarūpī svayaṁ Hariḥ*, 41. 37.

There is therefore nothing improbable in the mint-masters having decided to represent the king as the recipient of an invaluable favour from Chakra-purusha, rather than Chakradhārin or Vishṇu. The legend on the reverse, *Chakravikrama*, should therefore be interpreted as *Chakravat-vikramaḥ*; 'One whose valour is like that of Chakra, i. e. Chakra-purusha.' An alternative explanation would be *Chakrāt prāptaḥ vikramaḥ yena saḥ*, 'One who has derived his valour or invincibility from Chakra or Chakra-purusha himself.'

The representation of the Chakra-purusha on the obverse of the coin is in remarkable conformity with that given in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā*.[1] The king desirous of winning military glory and scoring great victories is advised to meditate on Chakra-purusha in the middle[2] of a wheel,[3] having two rims and 64 spokes; he is to have two arms only. The divine figure on the obverse of our coin has also two arms and is standing in the middle of a wheel which has two rims, very clearly indicated. The dots on the rims are obviously intended to stand for the ends of the spokes. In that portion of the wheel which is visible, their number is about 39; we can therefore

1. एवं भूते महाचक्रे चतु:पष्टचरसंयुते ।
नेमिद्वयान्विते देवं मध्ये ध्यायस्व भूपते ।। 42. 66.

2. The portion of the figure down the knees is not included in the *Chakra;* but this is a minor irregularity necessitated by the circumstance that the king also had to be accommodated on the die. As the deity is shown in the middle of the wheel, its spokes could be indicated only by their ends.

3. The circular object round the divine figure cannot be taken to be a halo, for the latter is usually around the face or head only. It is only in the late Pāla period, that Vishṇu images in Bengal begin to show a halo around the entire figure, but they have four and not two hands.

well presume that the entire wheel was intended to have 64 spokes as stated in the *Saṁhitā*.[1]

We may therefore well presume that the obverse of this unique coin represents Chandragupta II as receiving a divine favour direct from Chakrapurusha, who is manifesting himself before him for that purpose. the *prasāda* in the form of the three round objects may well be taken to symbolise three-fold royal power consisting of *prabhuśakti*, *utsāhaśakti* and *mantraśakti*, which together constitute the *kriyāśakti* of a king, as Chakrapurusha was a representation of the *kriyāśakti* of Vishṇu (*Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā*, 36-56).

It is not easy to determine the chronology of the different types of gold coins of Chandragupta II enumerated above. Archer type, class I, the Standard type and the Couch type were probably issued early in the reign as suggested by their reverse motif, showing the goddess as seated on throne and not on lotus. Chhatra type was perhaps a little later; it recalls the reverse of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The Archer type Class II, the Lion-slayer type and the Horseman type seem to have been issued throughout the reign. The king-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch type is known from a solitary piece; its light weight and analogy to the Couch type would suggest that it was issued early in the reign like the latter. The chronology suggested here is purely tentative.

Most of the coins of Chandragupta II are well executed and show considerable artistic skill. The art shown in depicting the energetic and determined action of the king when engaged in a deadly struggle with the lion and the masterly manner in which the charm of his muscular body or the grace of the person of Lakshmī are shown are both remarkable. The

1. It may be however, pointed out that Sudarśana-purusha or Chakra-purusha, as described in the *Śilparatna*, is considerably different. He is to have a grim appearance, matted hair, eight or sixteen hands and is to be surrounded by a circle (G. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 291). This conception is probably a later one and related to Nṛisiṁhāvatāra.

mint-masters seem to be always eager to show new variations in the accepted and popular types, as shown by the numerous varieties of the Archer, the Lion-slayer and the Horseman types. The best coins of Chandragupta II are also among the best coins of ancient India.

SILVER COINS

Coins and coin-types in ancient India were to a great extent regional. Provinces which were accustomed to gold, silver or copper currency had to be supplied with the coins of the usual metal and type by the conqueror. When Mālwā, Gujarāt and Kathiāwār were annexed to the Gupta empire by Chandragupta II, he found that his new subjects were accustomed to the use of small silver hemi-drachms. Eventually he had to decide to issue a silver currency of his own, more or less similar to that popularised in Western India by the Kshatrapas, whom he had overthrown. The precise date of the conquest of Mālwā, Gujarāt and Kathiāwār by Chandragupta II is not yet known, but it seem to have been effected late in his reign. At any rate the silver coinage seems to have been sanctioned and introduced towards the end of his long reign. His silver coins are relatively very rare and the earliest date recorded on them seems to be 90 G. E. or 409 A.D. The silver coins are usually found only in Western India, showing thereby that Chandragupta had no idea to introduce the white currency in his home provinces. A silver coin of Chandragupta is no doubt known to have been found at Sultanganj in Bihar. But it was found along with a silver coin of Rudrasena III,[1] whom Chandragupta had overthrown; it is very probable that both these coins may have been brought as mementoes by a Bihārī captain, who had accompanied the expeditionary force in Western India. The silver coin of Chandragupta that Cunningham had acquired at Ayodhyā[2] was also most probably an imported piece.

1. *C.A.S.R.*, X, p. 127; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 122.
2. *C.M.I.*, p. 20.

Silver coins of Chandragupta (**Pl. XVI. 3-6**) are, as was but natural, a fairly close copy of the Kshatrapa silver issues current in Western India; they are illustrated on **Pl. XVI. 1-2**. Their size, which varies from .5″ to .55″ and their weight which is usually between 26.5 and 31 grains, closely correspond with those of the coins of the later Kshatrapas. On the obverse the king's bust is closely modelled on that of the Kshatrapa prototype, having a collar, a prominent nose, and long hair and moustaches. The traces of the corrupt Greek legend are allowed to continue (**Pl. XVI. 6**). The date, when given, is engraved behind the king's head as on the Kshatrapa coins (**Pl. XVI. 2**); only the Śaka era is replaced by the Gupta one.[1]

On the reverse the wavy line at the bottom and the crescent and the cluster of dots at the top are allowed to continue, but the three-arched hill in the centre is replaced by Garuḍa, which was the imperial insignia of the Guptas. The view of the earlier writers like Thomas and Smith[2] that the bird is a peacock is clearly untenable, as will be shown by a comparison of this bird with the undoubted Garuḍa figuring on the Garuḍadhvaja of gold coins and the Garuḍa on the copper coins of Chandragupta II (cf. **Pl. XVI. 8-10**).

Garuḍa remained the device of one class of the silver currency of Western India down to the reign of Skandagupta. Garuḍa on the silver coins is thereomorphic and not therianthropic; it has not got a human face with the bird-body, as is the case on some copper coins of Chandragupta II (**Pl. XVI. 8**); it has an entire bird body.

The reverse of the silver coins of Chandragupta II has a circular legend, as is the case with the coins of the Kshatrapas. It naturally suppresses the name of the king and the family of

1. Smith and Fleet had doubted the existence of any date on this variety; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889 pp. 122-3; *I.A.*, 1885, p. 66. But the date 90 can be clearly read on **Pl. XVI. 3.**

2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120.

the defeated dynasty and proclaims to the new subjects of the conqueror his name, imperial titles and family name or religious persuasion.

Silver coins of Chandragupta II are divided into two classes. In class I, the legend ends with *Vikramāditya* and mentions the religious persuasion and not the family name of the issuer --*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-Vikramāditya* (**Pl. XXV. 5**). 'Chandragupta Vikramāditya, king of kings, and a devotee of Vishṇu.' This legend is closely similar to that on the Horseman type of the emperor, where only the last word of the above legend is omitted. In class II, the legend ends with *Vikramāṅka* and gives the family name and not the religious persuasion of the issuer—*Śri-Guptakulasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-Vikramāṅkasya* (**Pl. XXV. 6**). 'The coin of Chandragupta Vikramāṅka, king of kings, of the Gupta family.' Which of the two classes is earlier cannot be determined; both may have been contemporary issues as well, one being probably from a mint in Gujarāt and the other from another in Kathiāwār. Coins of both the classes are rare, those of class II being extremely scarce.

Prinsep refers to a drawing he had received from Mr. Tregear of Jaunpur of a small silver coin having a head on one side and a bird with oustretched wings on the other with a clear legend below reading *Chandragupta.*[1] Smith, however, seems to be correct in his conjecture that the word silver in the above note of Prinsep is most probably a mistake for copper;[2] for the description accurately suits copper coins like those in *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XI. 11-14 or in our **Pl. XVI. 15-17**. It is very unlikely that Chandragupta II had issued any silver coins in this third variety.

We now proceed to describe the coins. We first take up the two coins of Rudrasena III (348-378 A.D.), which are being illustrated to give an idea of the Kshatrapa prototype.

1. *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 281, n. 2.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 132.

COINS OF RUDRASENA III

(1) Silver; .6″, 31.6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *A.W.K.*, Pl. XVII. 841.

Obv: Bust of the king to r., collar at the neck blurred; hair falling on the neck and moustaches down from the upper lip. Traces of Greek letters in front of the king's face, and date behind, 200, 80, 2.

Rev: Three arched hill above a wavy line, crescent on l. and a cluster of dots on r. Circular legend beginning at IV, (restored) *Rājño mahākshatrapasvāmī-Rudradāmaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa svāmī Rudrasenasa.* **(Pl. XVI. 1)**

(2) Silver; .55″; 33.1 grains; *B. M. C.*, *A. W. K.*, Pl. XVII. 845.

Obv: As above. The collar is clearer. Very few traces of Greek letters. Date 200, 80, 3.

Rev: As above, but the legend is more blurred. **(Pl. XVI. 2)**

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 5

CLASS I

(Legend beginning with *Paramabhāgavata*)[1]

(1) Silver; .6″; 31 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. X. 15.

Obv: Bust of the king to r. truncated on r.; long hair falling on the neck. Date behind the head, *Va(rshe)* 90 (+x ?).

Rev: In the centre, Garuḍa with outstreched wings; above on the r. a cluster of seven dots. Circular legend, beginning at III, *Parama(bhāgavatamahā)rājādhirāja-Śrī-Chan*[2]*dragupta-Vikramāditya.* Portions within the bracket are blurred. The letter *gu* is without its left limb. **(Pl. XVI. 3)**

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. X. 15-20; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. IV. 1; *C.A.S.R.*, IX, p. 23, Pl. V. 2-3; *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 9.

2. The letter *ndra* is defectively engraved and looks like *kra*, hence Newton, who first published the coins of this class, read the king's name as Vakragupta. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol, VII.

(2) Silver; .5″; 29 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 20.

Obv: As above; moustaches prominent; collar distinct; traces of Greek letters in front of the face.

Rev: As above. Legend is very distinct (from IX to III), *dharajaśra-Chandragupta-vakra.*

(Pl. XVI. 4)

(3) Silver; .55″; 30 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 17.

Obv: As above, but forehead and nose off the flan. Behind the head, the letter *va*, an abbreviation for *varshe.*

Rev: Legend, from III, *Parama.....*, from V *harajadharaja-śra-Chandragupta-vakramadatya.*

(Pl. XVI. 5)

(4) Silver; .6″; 29 grains; *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 9.

Obv: As above, Greek letters before king's face; collar prominent; as also moustaches.

Rev: Legend on the left quite distinct, *jadhara-śra-Chandra-gupta-vakra.*

(Pl. XVI. 6)

CLASS II

(With the legend beginning with *Śrī-Guptakulasya*)[1]

(5) Silver; .5″; 30.8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 21.

Obv: As on class I.

Rev: As on class I, but the legend is intended to be *Śrī-Guptakulasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-vikra-māṅk*[2]*asya.*

(Pl. XVI. 7)

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X, 21; *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 23, Pl. V, 1. Coins of this class in good condition have not been published. At both the places above mentioned, the legend cannot be read in the photographs of the coins. The finer specimen in Dr. Hoey's collection has not been published.

2. Earlier writers had read this letter as *rka;* but it is more likely that it is *ṅka; rka* and *ṅka* were very similar to each other at this period. The published facsimilies of this type are, however, too faint to check the reading.

COPPER COINAGE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Among the Gupta kings, only Chandragupta II can perhaps be said to have attempted to start a regular copper currency. Very few copper coins of Rāmagupta and Kumāragupta I are known and none whatever of any other Gupta emperor.[1] Harigupta, who is known from a single copper piece, does not appear to have belonged to the Imperial Gupta family.

The phenomenon of the extreme rarity of the copper coinage clearly shows that ordinary daily small transactions were carried on with the help of barter or cowries. The Chinese piligrim Fa Hian could see only cowries in the bazars of Pātaliputra on the few occasions he passed through or visited them. In the Gupta period things were about seven times cheaper than what they were in 1930, when there was a world-wide slump in prices. The normal Gupta gold coin, weighing about 2/3 of a tola, was thus something like a two hundred rupee note as far as the purchasing power was concerned. It could therefore have hardly ever figured in the ordinary day-to-day financial transactions.

The copper coinage of Chandragupta is fairly original; it imitates neither the Kushāṇa issues nor the cast copper types that were earlier current in the Gangetic plain, nor any of the motifs current on the Kauśāmbī or Ayodhyā coinage. Its usual reverse, Garuḍa above and the legend below, is original. The obverse of the Chhatra and the Archer types are obvious imitations of the same types in gold. The bust type obverse may perhaps have been suggested by the usual type of Huvishka in gold. The Chakra type is original and may perhaps refer to the Vaishṇava persuasion of the issuer.

The relative rarity of the copper coins of Chandragupta II is probably due to their not being carefully preserved in hoards as was the case with the gold issues. The excavations in Pāṭaliputra at Kumrahar have led to the discovery of 11

1. About the alleged copper coinage of Samudragupta, see *ante*, p. 40.

copper coins of this ruler, showing that his copper currency, if not extensive as that of the Kushāṇas, was not quite scarce.

We shall now mention the different types of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II. We shall first describe each type or its varieties and then make a few remarks, if necessary.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 12

CHHATRA TYPE

Variety A

(Garuḍa with human hands)[1]

(1) Copper; 85″; 57.5 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 2.

Obv: King standing left,[2] bare-headed, with a dwarf attendent behind him holding state umbrella, decorated with streamers. Attendent blurred; king's figure graceful.

Rev: In the upper half Garuḍa with human face and hands but with bird's body and outstretched wings, standing facing, wearing bracelets on arms. In the lower half, the legend, *Mahārāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*, (**Pl. XXI. 13**) partly blurred.

(**Pl. XVI. 8**)

(2) Copper; .85″; 57.5 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 3.

Obv: Attendant partly off the flan; king's figure is crude.

Rev: Legend partly blurred (*Mahārāja*)-*śrī-Chandraga.*

(**Pl. XVI. 9**)

Variety B

(Garuḍa without human hands)

(3) Copper; .75″; 64.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 4.

Obv: As above, but the attendant is on the flan.

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 2-3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 139, Pl. IV. 9.
2. It has been suggested that the king may be offering incense on altar as on gold coins (*B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 52); but as his right hand is sharply raised up, this does not appear to be probable.

Rev: Garuḍa has no human hands. Legend is the same, but only *haraja-Chandra* is visible.

(**Pl. XVI. 10**)

Four coins of this class have so far been noticed. One of them was purchased at the bazar of Pānipat and a second one was acquired at Jaunpur. The known weight of the four different coins were 101, 75, 64 and 47 grains. It is likely tha the unit in this class may have been of 100 grains or 56 *rattīs*.

STANDING KING TYPE[1]

(4) Copper; .65″; 53.7 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 7.

Obv: King standing l. with r. hand raised up.[2]

Rev: As in Chhatra type variety B, Garuḍa having no human arms. *Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*, partly blurred.

(**Pl. XVI. 11**)

The legend is shortened on small coins by omitting the title *Mahārāja*. The size of the coins usually varies from .5″ to .65″. About 23 coins of this type have been so far noticed, six being found in Kumrahar excavations, 1951-54. Their weights vary so widely without apparently any fixed principle, that it is difficult to determine the different denominations in this class. It is likely that the lighter coins weighing between 18 and 25 grains formed one denomination, and those weighing between 44 and 54 grains formed another.

ARCHER TYPE

(5) Copper; .8″; 84.3 grains; *J.A.S.B.*, 1933, N. 12.

Obv: King nimbate standing to l. holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. *Chandra* under the l. arm. Traces of the circular legend.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 5-9.
2. On some coins he seems to be holding a flower and on some, to be offering oblations.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus, with noose in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. resting on knee. Legend; *Sri-Vikramaḥ* on the right.

(**Pl. XVI. 12**)

Only one coin of this type is known so far. It exactly corresponds to the Archer type, class II of Chandragupta II; (see **Pl. IV. 13-14**).

It is probably a freak issue, the die for the gold coin being used for the copper coinage by mistake. The coin was found at Rājgir.

BUST TYPE

Variety A

(Large size)[1]

(6) Copper; .9″; 87 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. X. 22.

Obv: Bust of king to l. wearing necklace, ear-rings and armlets and holding flower in uplifted r. hand.

Rev: In the upper half Garuḍa, nimbate, standing facing with outstretched wings. In the lower half, legend probably *Mahārāja-Chandraguptaḥ* but quite illegible.

(**Pl. XVI. 13**)

One of the two known coins of variety A was found at Ahichchhatrā and the other in Jhelam district. The obverse appears to be in imitation of the gold coins of Huvishka, where we have a bust of the king holding an ear of corn in his hand. Cunningham's view that the obverse is that of a female is untenable.

Copper coins do not travel long and the findspot of some coins of this and the next variety of this class would tend to show that the South-Eastern Punjab was included in Chandragupta's dominions.

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. X. 22; *J.A.S.B.* 1894, i, pp. 173-4; Pl. VI. XI.; *C.M.I.*, p. 15, Pl. II. 8.

Variety B

(Small size)[1]

(7) Copper; .75″; 44 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 10.

Obv: As in variety A, but bust is half-length and in the upper half of the coin only; legend, *Śrī-Vikramāditya* is in the lower half; last letter is off the flan on this specimen.

Rev: In the upper half, Garuḍa as in variety A. In the lower half, *Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.*, only first two letters being visible on this specimen.

(Pl. XVI. 14)

Only three coins of this class have been so far noticed; the weights of only two of them are recorded. They are 40.5 and 44 grains respectively. Two of the coins belonged to the Stacy and Swiney collections and may therefore be presumed to have been obtained from the Punjab.

The breasts of the bust on the coin in the Stacy collections are very prominent; this circumstance induced Thomas to state that it was that of a female. The usual numismatic practice makes it clear, however, that the bust should be that of the king.

Variety C

(No legend on obverse)[2]

(8) Copper; .6″; 40.5 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 11.

Obv: Bust of king as above, but without any legend below.

Rev: Garuḍa as above, but standing on an altar and holding a snake in his mouth; border of dots. Legend *Chandragupta(ḥ)*.

(Pl. XVI. 15)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, XI, 10; *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 140, Pl. IV. 2; *P.E.*, Pl. XXX. 13.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 11; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 140; Pl. IV. 13.

Variety D

(As above, but no altar for Garuḍa)[1]

(9) Copper; 65″; 27 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 12.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above, but no altar under Garuḍa. Legend [*Sri-Cha*]*ṅdragu*(*pta*).

(Pl. XVI. 16)

Variety E

(King without flower)[2]

(10) Copper; .55″; 28 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 14.

Obv: As above, but king has no flower.

Rev: Garuḍa indistinct and almost off the flan; below, *Chandraguptaḥ*.

(Pl. XVI. 17)

This is the most common type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II. On smaller coins, there is only the head instead of the bust. The size and weight of the coins of this variety vary from .35″ to .55″ and 4.2 to 28 grains. Most of the coins of this type are very poorly preserved and their weight so gradually varying that it is difficult to determine the denominations. Five coins of this variety were found in Kumrahar excavations, 1951-4.

CHAKRA TYPE

(11) Copper; .4″; 8.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 20.

Obv: In the upper half, *chakra* or wheel, in the lower half *Chandra*, rather blurred.

Rev: In the upper half, Garuḍa; in the lower half *Gupta*.

(Pl. XVI. 18)

The coins of this type are rare. Mr. Allan has obversed that the obverse of this type is entirely covered with the legend in two lines, (p. cxxxviii), but what he takes to be the letter *Śrī-* is obviously a wheel, as in clear from the photograph in the *B.M.C., G.D.*, which is reproduced here.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 12; *P.E.*, Pl. XXX. 15.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 13-19; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 141-2, Pl. IV. 14,

VASE TYPE[1]

(12) Copper; .4″; 12.1 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XI. 22.

Obv: Within dotted border *Chandra* surmounted by a crescent.

Rev: Within dotted border, *kalaśa* or vase, with flowers hanging down from its edge.

(Pl. XVI. 19)

Coins of this type are very tiny; many of them weigh under 10 grains and one is as light as 3.3 grains. As this type differs considerably from the other coins of Chandragupta II, Smith was inclined to think that they may been issued by king Chandra of Mehrauli pillar inscription.[2] It is unfortunate that the findspot of the coins of this type are not recorded. It appears most likely that the coins were issued by Chandragupta II himself, the type being a copy of one of the types of the coinage of the Mālava-*gaṇa* (republic) current in Mālwā,[3] which had the legend on one side and the *kalaśa* (vase) on the other. This type was most probably posterior to the conquest of Mālwā and may have been confined to that province. In the absence of a definite knowledge of the provenance, no definite theory can, however, be confidently proposed.

1. *B.M.C. G.D.*, Pl. XI. 21-26; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 143; *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 143, Pl. IV. 16.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 144. It now appears very probable that king Chandra of the above record is Chandragupta II himself.
3. *I.M.C.*, Pl. XX. 15.

CHAPTER VII

THE COINAGE OF RĀMAGUPTA

As pointed out already (p. *ante*, p. 4) literary tradition asserts that Chandragupta II had an elder brother named Rāmagupta, who ruled for a short time before him.[1] This ruler, however, is not mentioned in official Gupta inscriptions, nor are any gold coins yet found issued by him. Some scholars therefore doubt his historical existence.[2]

Recently, however, ten small copper coins have been found in Mālwā, which clearly bear the legend Rāmagupta or Rāma upon them.[3] Six of these were purchased by Mr. P. L. Gupta from a dealer, who obtained them at Bhilsā in Mālwā and four belong to the cabinet of the late Mr. N. R. Advani of Indore, also collected in the same province. It is possible to maintain that these coins represent the copper currency of the elder brother of Chandragupta, who bore that name and therefore they are included in the present work in a separate chapter.

From chronological considerations this chapter should have preceded chapter VI on the coins of Chandragupta II; but we have put it here, as it is more convenient to discuss the copper currency of Rāmagupta after one's aquaintance with the copper coins of Chandragupta II.

We first describe these coins:

(1) Copper; .45″; 31.3 grains; P. L. Gupta Collection; *J.N.S.I.*, XII. Pl. XI. 1.

Obv: Animal (Lion ?), quite blurred.

Rev: Crescent above; legend below, occupying two third area of the coin, *Rāmagupta*. First two letters are

1. Altekar in *J.B.B.R.S.*, XIV, 223 ff; Mirashi in *I.H.Q.* X. 48 ff.
2. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, (4th Ed.), p. 465.
3. P. L. Gupta was the first to discover and publish these coins in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XII., pp. 103-8; later Dr. H. V. Trivedi published the coins in the Advani collection in *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, p. 128,

quite clear in the plate, the last two in the original.
(Pl. XVI. 21)

(2) Copper; oval .5"x4"; 18.7 grains; P. L. Gupta Collection; *J.N.S.I.*, XII. Pl. IX. 2.

Obv: Animal blurred.

Rev: Legend in lower half, *Rāma(gupta)*.
(Pl. XVI. 21)

In their type, fabric, size and weight, the coins of Rāmagupta bear a striking resemblance to the small currency in copper, popularised in Mālwā by the Mālavas and the Nāgas. They are quite small in size; they follow a similar weight system, and their shape is roughly circular or oval, as is the case with some types of the copper coins issued by the Mālavas and the Nāgas. On the Mālava coins issued by Mapaya and Magojaya, the obverse is entirely covered by the legend and the reverse has the device of a lion, as is the case with the coins of Rāmagupta, which we are discussing here. Some of them are round in shape and some irregular; see *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXI. 1-4. The legend on these Mālava coins is written in a straight line, as is the case with the coins of Rāmagupta. The resemblance of the coins of Rāmagupta with the Nāga currency is not so close. The size and weight system are also the same, but the animal on the Nāga coins is usually the Bull and not the Lion. The legend is generally circular and rarely in a straight line.

The coins of Rāmagupta were examined by a number of scholars at Nagpur in 1950 at the time of the Numismatic Conference, and they agreed that the legend was clearly Rāmagupta or Rāmaguta. The reading of the legend is also clear on two of the coins in the collection of Mr. Advani.[1] There is no doubt that the issuer was Rāmagupta. As gold coins of

1. Mr. K. D. Bajpeyī, M. A., Curator, Archaeologieal Museum, Mathura, has reported to me on 4-12-1954 the discovery of another copper coin of Rāmagupta at Talbhat, about 35 miles south of Jhansi. The letters on this coin are said to be *magupta*.

Rāmagupta have not been found in any Gupta hoard, including the Bayana hoard, where all kings from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta are represented, it is possible to argue that Rāmagupta of the copper coins may be a local ruler in Mālwā. Copper coinage was not introduced before the time of Chandragupta II and it may therefore well be doubted whether Rāmagupta had really taken the trouble of issuing it during his short and troubled reign.

It is, however, possible to argue that the currency in India was largely local; Chandragupta II was compelled to issue silver currency for his subjects in Mālwā, closely resembling that of the Western Kshatrapas. It is similarly possible that when Samudragupta conquered Eastern Mālwā, he might have started copper currency similar in type and character to the Mālava and Nāga coinage that was then current there; Rāmagupta may have continued it. Mālwā has not been properly explored for Gupta coins and we may find copper coins of Samudragupta as well in that province. We are so far aware of no other Rāmagupta than the elder brother of Chandragupta II and the palæography of the coins shows that they belonged to the Gupta period. We can, therefore, identify Rāmagupta of these copper coins with the elder brother of Chandragupta II mentioned in the *Devī-Chandraguptam.* It is true that we have not got any gold coins of Rāmagupta, but it is possible that we may get them in future. Budhagupta, who had ruled for about twenty years, was for a long time known only from his silver coinage. Even now only two of his gold coins have come to light.

We shall, however, have to suspend our final judgment till the discovery of more decisive evidence.

CHAPTER VIII

GOLD COINAGE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The numismatic activity of the reign of Kumāragupta I was more intense and varied than that of Chandragupta II or Samudragupta. The mint-masters were anxious to show their skill by introducting more and more variations and types both in the gold and silver coinage. They revived the King-and-Queen type of Chandragupta I and the Tiger-slayer, the Aśvamedha and the Lyrist types of Samudragupta, which had been discontinued in the previous reigns. They continued the Archer, the Horseman, the Chhatra and the Lion-slayer types, which were very popular in the reign of Chandragupta II; new variations were, however, introduced in most of them. A number of quite new types were also introduced. The emperor was named after Kumāra, the commander-in-chief of gods. It is therefore natural that a new type should be introduced showing this deity on the reverse, the king on the obverse being represented as feeding peacock, the mount of the deity. In the field of war and sport several new types were introduced. The Swordsman type may perhaps show that the emperor claimed to be an expert swordsman. The Elephant-rider type probably refers to the emperor going out for sport. The Elephant-rider-and-lion-slayer type pictures a dramatic and critical moment in the lion hunt from the back of the elephant. The Rhinoceros-slayer type shows the emperor attacking the rhinoceros from the back of a horse. The rare *Apratigha* type is still a mystery. It shows the emperor standing with folded hands and being addressed by an agitated lady on the right and a general on the left. The gold types of Kumāragupta thus show an extraordinary and pleasing variety.

In the case of the silver coinage also, the creative vein was active. Kumāragupta continued the old type of his father for

the silver coinage intended for the western provinces of his empire. But he also introduced a new type of silver currency for the home provinces, which, while not altogether concealing its western origin, was yet sufficiently original.

Only about half a dozen copper coins of Kumāragupta are so far known.[1] It appears that he gave up the experiment of copper coinage of his father as not worth the trouble. Cowries and barter system were quite sufficient for those transactions for which we use the copper currency in the modern age.

In the sphere of variety and originality, the coinage of Kumāragupta can very well match with that of Chandragupta II or Samudragupta. In artistic merit, however, it shows no uniform standard. His Horseman type is of high artistic merit; the goddess feeding peacock is also generally graceful both on the Tiger-slayer and the Kārtikeya types. The features of the three personages on the *Apratigha* type are very expressive. Many specimens of the Kārtikeya type are also quite good. The King-and-the-Queen, the Lyrist, the Rhinoceros-slayer, the Elephant-rider and the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer types also reveal fine mastery in the numismatic art. First rate artists were summoned for the cutting of these rare dies.

But one notices distinct deterioration in the Archer and the Lion-slayer types. The torso of the king on the former is often shown too much thrown back and his figure on the latter is not so vigorous and energetic as that of the king on the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II. On both these types the king's breasts are sometimes so prominent as to make him appear to be a female rather than a male. The horse on the Aśvamedha coins of Kumāragupta can bear no comparison to that on the Aśvamedha pieces of Samudragupta. It thus appears that the numismatic art had begun to show symptoms of decline in the

1. Excavations at Kumrahar near Patna, which led to the discovery of several copper coins of Chandragupta II, did not yield a single copper coin of Kumāragupta I.

regin of Kumāragupta I.[1] Possibly the troubles in the latter half of the reign were partly responsible for this phenomenon.

We now proceed to describe the gold coinage of Kumāragupta I.

ARCHER TYPE

The Archer type, which was most popular with Chandragupta II, was issued by Kumāragupta in large numbers. That surprising and pleasing variety, which we saw in the Archer type of Chandragupta II is, however, missing here. It appears that Kumāragupta's mint-masters did not think worth their while to spend their ingenuity on this common and hackneyed type.

The Archer type of Chandragupta II, Class I, showed the goddess on the reverse seated on the throne, as on the Kushāṇa prototype. This motif does not at all appear on the Archer type of Kumāragupta I; there the goddess is always seated on the lotus as in class II of Chandragupta II. On the obverse the king is standing to left, having an arrow in the right hand and bow in the left. The latter is held sometimes at the top and sometimes by the middle. Sometimes *Kumāra* is written under the left arm and sometimes the name is contracted into *Ku*. Sometimes there is neither *Kumāra* nor *Ku* at this place; the attribution of these coins becomes possible only on account of the *biruda* on the reverse.

The classification of this type is not easy. Mr. Allan has adopted the legend as the principle of classification; but they are not always clear and distinct. We propose to classify the coins by the presence or absence of the term *Ku* or *Kumāra* on the obverse. Within these classes we shall distinguish the varieties by their legends.

1. R.D. Banerji held the opposite view; he opined that with the reign of Kumāragupta I, the Gupta coinage reached the highest point of excellence and averred that the coins of this emperor were individual objects of art; *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 230. This view is but partly true, as shown above.

Class I (**Pl. IX. 10-12.**) consists of coins which have ***Kumāra*** under the left arm of the king. The legend is in prose, *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumārguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXI. 19**). Coins of this class are all issued to the standard of 124 grains.

In Class II (**Pl. IX. 13-14**) the vertical legend *Kumāra* is engraved outside the bow which is held by the middle with the string outside. Here variety A shows the same legend as Class I, but in variety B, we have an undeciphered legend, beginning with *Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ* and probably ending with *jayati Kumāraḥ* 'Prominent in merit, ...Kumāra conquers the world.' The coins of both varieties are all issued to the standard of 121 grains.

In Class III (**Pl. X. 1-6**), we have *Ku* under the arm of the king. In variety A, the legend is *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati* (**Pl. XXI. 20**); 'King Kumārgupta, who has conquered the earth, wins the heaven.' In variety B, the legend is *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* and in variety C, it is extended by adding the word *sudhanvī*[1] at the end; 'The excellent archer, Kumāragupta conquers the earth.' On one coin of this variety (**Pl. X. 5**), recently discovered, there is a beautiful conch on the reverse on the left side. The coins of all these three varieties are generally issued to the standard of 127 grains, though in variety A, we sometimes get some rare coins weighing 130 and 124 grains.

In class IV, we have neither ***Ku*** nor ***Kumāra*** in the field. Here, in variety A, we have the legend, *Paramarājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXI. 22**); 'Kumāragupta, the great king of of kings;' and in variety B, *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*. The standard of 127 grains prevails in this class.

Kumāragupta II, great grandson of Kumārgupta I, also issued coins of the Archer type, which were once assigned to Kumāragupta I by Smith.[2] He, however, later on changed his

1. The grammatically correct from is *sudhanvā*, but the reading, where distinct, is clearly *sudhanvī*.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 99.

views and assigned them to Kumāragupta II.[1] It is no doubt true that the coins of Kumāragupta II have also *Ku* under the left arm as those of Kumāragupta I; they also have a legend similar to that on classes I and IV of Kumāragupta I, viz. *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXI. 19**). But their weight standard is that of 144 grains, which had not been adopted by Kumāragupta I. The reverse legend is also not *Mahendra* but *Kramāditya*. There can be no doubt that the Archer type with *Kramāditya* on the reverse was issued by Kumāragupta II and not by his great grand-father.

We now give a general description of the Archer type of Kumāragupta I.

Obv: King standing to left, having arrow in r. hand and bow in the l. He is sometimes bare-headed, and sometimes he wears a diadem. In some cases he wears a coat and in others he is bare-bodied. The bow is sometimes held at the top with string inside and sometimes at the middle with string outside. There is Garuḍa standard behind the king's right hand. On some coins, *Kumāra* and on on others *Ku*, surmounted by a crescent, is engraved under the left arm of the king. On some coins, *Kumāra* is outside the string to right. On some, however, there is neither *Ku* nor *Kumāra*. Circular legends vary with different types and varieties, as already described above.

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated on lotus usually with a noose in right hand and a lotus in left. Sometimes the r. hand is scattering coins or holding a flower. Except in rare cases, there is a symbol on the left. Legend on the right, *Śrīmahendraḥ*. (**Pl. XXIV. 56**).

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 116.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 15

CLASS I

(*Kumāra* under l. arm.)[1]

(1) Gold; .85″; 123.9 grains; *B.H.*, XIX. 3.

Obv: King wears a diadem over his profuse hair. He is bare-bodied and wears a *dhotī*. *Kumāra* under l. arm. Circular legend beginning at I, *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kuma.*

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus with noose in r. hand and lotus in l. Symbol on l. Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ.*

(Pl. IX. 10.)

(2) Gold; .8″; 123.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIX. 1.

Obv: As above. King's hand passes through the bow and the bow-string. Legend on l. truncated; on r. between king's hand and Garuḍa *Gupta,* the last letter being only partly visible.

Rev: As above, but the legs of the goddess are raised up and the hands rest on knees.

(Pl. IX. 11.)

(3) Gold; .85″; 123.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIX. 4.

Obv: As above. Legend on l. blurred; traces of *gupta* at VIII.

Rev: As above. Legs of goddess are very much raised up.

(Pl. IX. 12.)

CLASS II

Variety A

(*Kumāra* outside the bow-string and legend, *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc.)[2]

(4) Gold; .8″; 120.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XIX. 6.

Obv: The bow is held by the middle with bow-string outside. No diadem on the king's head. Legend from I, *Mahārājādharāja-*[*śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*].

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XII. 7.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G. D.*, Pl. XII. 10-12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. II. 11.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus; her legs are very much raised up and her hands rest upon them. Symbol on the l. Legend on the right, *Śrīmahendraḥ.*
(**Pl. IX. 13**)

Variety B

(With the legend *Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ* [*jayati Kumāraḥ*] ?)[1]

(5) Gold; .75″; 119.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 4.

Obv: As above; *Kumāra* outside the bowstring. Legend beginning at I, *Gaṇeśo-mahi* blurred, but clear on the original.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus; r. hand raised up and holding a noose off the flan and l. hand resting on knee and holding a lotus. Symbol on l.; legend on r., *Śrīmahendraḥ,* blurred.
(**Pl. IX. 14**)

CLASS III

(*Ku* under left arm.)

Variety A

(With the legend, *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.*)[2]

(6) Gold; .8″; 126.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 5.

Obv: King standing to l., bare-headed and with profuse hair falling on back, wearing coat and *dhotī.* Bow held at the top with string inside. The staff of the Garuḍa-standard is worked on lathe. Under l. arm *Ku* with a crescent above. Legend from III, *jatavanaravana*, truncated; below the feet traces of *Kumāra;* on l. *gapta diva jaya.*

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated on lotus. R. hand is bent and raised up, l. hand rests on knee. Symbol almost off the flan. Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ,* blurred.
(**Pl. X. 1**)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XII. 8-9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. III. 5.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, XII. 1-3; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, Pl. III. 10; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889 Pl. II. 10.

(7) Gold; .8″; 125.9 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 7.

Obv: As above. At III *Vajatavanarava*, at XI *ti*. Letter *va* is above the bow and the letter *ti* above Garuḍa.

Rev: As above, but symbol complete.

(Pl. X. 2)

Variety B

(With the legend *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)[1]

(8) Gold; .75″; 127.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 13.

Obv: King as in variety A, his torso is considerably bent back. *Ku* with crescent above under the l. arm. Legend on r. off the flan; on l. from IX, *śra-Kumaragupta*, truncated.

Rev: As above, but goddess is scattering gold coins by the r. hand.

(Pl. X. 3)

Variety C

(With the legend *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*)[2]

(9) Gold; .75″; 126 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 8.

Obv: King as above holding bow at the top. Circular legend from I, *Jayatamahata;* at X *dhanva.*

Rev: Lakshmī holds a flower in r. hand, l. hand resting empty on thigh. No symbol. Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ.*

(Pl. X. 4)

(10) Gold; .8″; 121.4 grains; obv. *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 11; rev. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XII., p. 124.

Obv: As above. Legend from I, *Jayati mahitala*, above Garuḍa, at XI *nva.*

Rev: R. hand of the goddess is bent up; a conch by its side; l. hand on thigh, holding lotus. Symbol on l. Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ.*

(Pl. X. 5)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. IX. 4-5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 96.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 63; *N.Ch.* 1891, Pl. II. 11.

(11) Gold; .75″; 126.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 12.
Obv: As above. From I *Jaya*, at X, *sudhanvī*.
Rev: Goddess is scattering coins by right hand.

(Pl. X. 6.)

CLASS IV

(With neither *Ku* nor *Kumāra*)

Variety A

(*Paramarājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)[1]

(12) Gold; .8″; 126.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXI. 1.
Obv: King standing to l., bare-headed and wearing a buttoned coat and *dhotī*. Circular legend from I, *Paramarāja*, from VII *śra-Kumāragupta*, *gu* being above the king's r. hand and *pta* above Garuḍa.
Rev: Lakshmī holds noose in r. hand and lotus in l. which is akimbo. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Śrīmahendraḥ*.

(Pl. X. 7.)

(13) Gold; .8″; 125.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXI. 3.
Obv: As above. Legend on l., *Paramarājādharaja-śrī-* blurred, on r., between VII and IX, *Kumaragu*, above Garuḍa, *pta*.
Rev: As above, but the legs of the goddess are slightly raised. Legend *Śrīmahendraḥ*.

(Pl. X. 8.)

(14) Gold; .8″; 126.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XX. 14.
Obv: As above. Buttons of the coat are apparently fixed on a strip. Legend on l., *Paramarājā*, truncated.
Rev: Very neatly engraved. Noose is short. Symbol on on l.; legend *Śramahendra*.

(Pl. X. 9.)

Variety B

(*Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)

(15) Gold; .8″; 127.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXI. 5.
Obv: King standing to l. etc. as above. Circular legend beginning at VIII, *Jayata mahatala śra-Kumārgupta;*

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XII. 6; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, Pl. III. 4.

śrī is above Garuḍa and *Kamāra* at III; traces only of *Gupta* being visible below the bow.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus, with flower in r. hand, bent up, and cornucopiæ in the l. resting on shoulder. Symbol on l., but at the centre not at the top. Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ.*

(**Pl. X. 10**)

HORSEMAN TYPE

The Horseman type of Kumāragupta I, is the most popular type of this emperor. The obverse is more or less the same as that of the Horseman type of his father; the king is riding a horse to right or left, sometimes with and sometimes without weapons. The reverse continues the motif of the goddess seated on a wicker-stool in some cases, but in others, it introduces another motif,—goddess feeding a peacock. It is interesting to note that each variety in this type has its own distinctive features in the direction of the horse, the types of its saddle-ornamentation, the weapons of the king, the legend on the obverse and the details of the motif on the reverse. Consider able attention must have been bestowed in determining these minute details of each variety.

It will be convenient to divide the Horseman type according to the reverse motif, class I consisting of coins where the goddess is sitting alone on the reverse and class II of those pieces where she is feeding a peacock. In each class we shall distinguish several varieties according to the legend on the obverse.

In Class I variety A (**Pl. X. 11-12**) the obverse legend is '*Pṛithivītalāmbaraśaśi Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ*'[1] (**Pl. XXI. 23**) 'Invincible Kumāragupta, who is as it were the moon in the sky

1. This legend could be for the first time deciphered with the help of the specimens preserved in the Bayana hoard. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIII. 1 was a coin of this variety, but it was not preserved well enough to permit a successful decipherment.

in the form of the earth's surface, is victorious'. The metre is Upagīti. The horse shows a uniform saddle-ornamentation consisting of circular stars on the haunch and the neck; the king bears no weapons. On the reverse the goddess is seated to left on a wicker-stool holding a flower in right hand, which displaces the symbol. The left hand rests empty on the waist.

In variety B (**Pl. X. 13**), which is so far represented by a single specimen in the Bayana hoard, the king is riding to left with a bow in the right hand. The horse has no decorated saddle and the legend is '*Jayati nripo'ribhirajitaḥ*', (**Pl. XXI. 24**); 'Victorious is the king who is never defeated by the enemies.' The goddess on the reverse is seated on a wicker-stool, but holds a noose in her right hand and a lotus in the left. There is no symbol.

In variety C (**Pl. X. 14-15; XI. 1**), the horse faces right and has a different type of saddle-ornamentation. The king carries no arms and the circular legend is *Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto*[1] *divaṁ jayati*; (**Pl. XXII. 25**); 'The unconquered and victorious king Kumāragupta, wins the heaven.' The metre is Upagīti. The reverse is exactly like that of variety B. Sometimes however (**Pl. X. 15**), the folds of the noose appear like the neck of the peacock in class II, especially when only its upper part is preserved on the flan. In one case (**Pl. XI. 1**) the goddess on the reverse seems to be holding no noose in her right hand. We are, however, not certain as to whether the legend on this coin is the same as the one noted above; for it is blurred. It is also unlikely that the noose has been beaten out by a subsequent hammering on the reverse. This coin has also a symbol. Most likely, if more specimens are found of this type, they will be found to be constituting a variety distinct from variety C.

1. *B.M.C.,G.D.*, p. 70, gives the reading of this legend as *mahendrasiṁho* instead of *Kumāragupto* as given by us. The specimens given in that catalogue on pl. XIII. 2 and 4, however, show the letter *gupta* fairly distinctly. *Mahendrasiṁho* can be read on no specimen.

Coins of all the above varieties were generally issued to the standard of 127 grains.

In class II, the goddess on the reverse is always feeding a peacock; she is never represented alone. We can distinguish four varieties in this class, as disclosed by the legends. In variety A, (**Pl. XI. 2-5**) the legend is '*Guptakulavyomaśaśi jayatyajeyo'jitamahendraḥ*,' (**Pl. XXII. 26**); 'The unconquered and invincible Mahendra, who is a moon in the sky of Gupta family, is victorious.' The metre is Upagīti. In this variety, the king always faces right and carries a bow in the left hand, and the goddess on the reverse is seen offering to the peacock a bunch of grapes, in which fruits are more prominent than the twig to which they adhere. The reverse has no symbol. The coins are all issued to the 127 grains standard.

In variety B (**Pl. XI. 6-8**), the king always faces to left and carries a bow in the right hand, and a sword hangs by his left side. The legend is '*Guptakulāmalachandro mahendrakarmājito jayati*' (**Pl. XXII. 28**), 'The spotless moon (in the firmament) of the Gupta family, the invincible hero, who is as valorous as Mahendra, is victorious.' The metre is Upagīti. The reverse has the same motif as in variety A, but twigs are more prominent than grapes in the bunch, which the goddess offers to the peacock. The idea may be to show that the feeding is coming to an end. There is a symbol of rather unusual shape on the left in this variety, which is rather unusual in this type. Majority of the coins of this variety were issued to the standard of 127 grains, but about 20% pieces are seen to follow the lighter standard of 124 grains.

The variety C of class II, (**Pl. XI. 9-10**) closely resembles the variety C of Class I. (**Pl. X. 14-5; XI. 1**). In both varieties on the obverse the horse faces right and the king carries no weapons. The legend on both begins with the same words, but there is a slight change at the end; for the legend on the present variety reads '*Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto*

jayatyajitaḥ,' (and not *Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*[1] (**Pl. XXII. 27**); 'The invincible and victorious king Kumāragupta carries the day, being undefeated.' The metre is Upagīti. The reverse shows the goddess feeding peacock, but there are hardly any grapes attached to the twig in her hand; they are all apparently already eaten by the pet. There is no symbol on the reverse.

In variety D (**Pl. XI. 11-13**), the king rides to right, holding bow in the left hand. Here the circular legend, which begins at VII, is '*Pṛithivītaleśvarendraḥ Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ,*' (**Pl. XXII. 29**); 'Invincible Kumāragupta, a veritable Indra on the surface of the earth, conquers (the enemy).' The metre is Upagīti. On the reverse of this type there is a symbol. The goddess has only three or four grapes in her hand and not a bunch or twig of them. It therefore became possible to accommodate the symbol in the upper left corner. In varieties C and D, the weight-standard of 127 grains is followed.

We shall now give a general description of the Horseman type.

HORSEMAN TYPE

Obv: King, usually nimbate, wearing coat and trousers, riding caparisoned horse to right or left, usually holding bow in the right or left hand, sword sometimes hanging by his side; in some cases he has no weapons. The saddle of the horse often shows artistic decorations. Legends vary with each variety, and have been given above already.

Rev: In Class I, Lakshmī seated on wicker-stool to left, holding a flower or noose in right hand and a lotus

1. In *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 71, Mr. Allan had assumed this legend to be identical with that on variety C of class I, but some specimens in the Bayana hoard distinctly show that the concluding words are *jayatyaji.* (**Pl. XI. 10**). On the only coin in the *B.M.C., G.D.*, where the concluding letters are clear, Pl. XIII. 10, they appear to be *gupto jaya*; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Class I variety D, (p. 155), which is not illustrated, is probably a coin of this variety.

in left. In some cases the latter is empty. Usually no symbol. Legend on right, *Ajitamahendraḥ*.
In class II, Goddess seated as above, feeding by her right hand a peacock with a bunch of grapes and and holding in the left a lotus with long stalk. Usually no symbol. Legend on right, *Ajitamahendraḥ*.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 18

CLASS I

(Goddess without peacock)

Variety A[1]

(Pṛithivītalāmbaraśaśī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ)[2]

(1) Gold; 8″; 126.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 4.

Obv: King bare-headed riding to r., without any weapons. Hair of the horse is pleated and there are beautiful circular ornaments in the saddle on the haunch and the neck; these are peculiarities of this variety. King's buttoned coat is graceful. Legend at II, *Pṛithi*, from III, *vītalāmbaraaśaśa*, all blurred; between horse's feet, *Kuma*, at IX, *pto jayatyajita*.

Rev: Goddess seated on a wicker-stool, holding lotus flower with long stalk and leaves in the r. hand.; l. hand resting empty on the hip. Her hair is tied in a knot behind the head. No symbol; legend *Ajitamahendraḥ*.

(Pl. X. 11)

(2) Gold; .8″; 127.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 1.

Obv: As above; legend from I, *Pṛithivītalāmbaraśa* quite clear.

Rev: As above. *Ajitamahendra*.

(Pl. X. 12)

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1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XIII. 1; *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, p. 113, No. 21.
2. Smith's view that on some coins of this type the legend is *Paramabhāgavatamahārājādhirāja-śrī-Mahendraguptaḥ* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 100) is not correct. The legend has now become quite certain owing to the new specimens in the Bayana hoard.

Variety B

(*Jayati nṛiporibhirajitaḥ*)

(3) Gold; .75″; 125.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 7.

Obv: King riding to l., legend from I, *Jayata nṛiporibharajitaḥ.*

Rev: Goddess seated to l. on wicker-stool with noose in r. hand and lotus in l. resting on waist. No symbol. Legend, *Ajatamahendraḥ.*

(Pl. X. 13)

Variety C

(*Kshitipatīrajito vijayī Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*)[1]

(4) Gold; .8″; 127 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 8.

Obv: King, bare-headed and wearing coat and probably trousers, riding to r., without weapons; profuse hair on king's head. Saddle remarkable for its beaded ornamentation. Legend, above horse's head *Ksha*, between his mouth and legs, *tapatara*, between horse's legs, traces of *tava*, from VIII, *maragupta dava jayata.*

Rev: As in variety B. Legend, *Ajatamahandra.*

(Pl. X. 14)

(5) Gold; .8″; 127.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 10.

Obv: As above. The coat has an open collar. Legend at I, *Kshatipata*, from IX, *gupta dava jayata.*

Rev: Goddess as above, but the folds of the noose look like the neck of the peacock.[2] Legend, *Ajatamahandrah.*

(Pl. X. 15)

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIII. 2-5; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i, p. 193, Pl. III. 12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. II. 13.
2. On some other coins also of this type in the Bayana hoard, a portion of the fold of the noose look like the neck of the peacock. If, however, we assume that this coin has a peacock on the reverse, it will belong to variety C of class II. But there the legend ends with *jayatyajitaḥ* and not with *gupto divaṁ jayati*, as on the present coin. The twig of the grape on that variety will have to be regarded as missing on this coin. On the whole it is best to assume that the fold of the noose looks here like the neck of a peacock partially visible.

(6) Gold; .8″; 126.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 9.

Obv: As above. Legend, *Kshatapatara*; legend on the left is altogether blurred.

Rev: Goddess seated to l. on a wicker-stool; noose hammered out (?). Symbol on the l. Legend, *Ajitamahendraḥ.*[1]

(Pl. XI. 1)

CLASS II

(Goddess feeding peacock)

Variety A

(*Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatyajeyojitamahendraḥ*)[2]

(7) Gold; .8″; 125.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIII. 11.

Obv: King bare-headed and with wig-like hair, riding to r. wearing coat and trousers; mane of the horse is pleated. Legend from I, *Guptakulavyamaśaśa jayatya.* The last letter is between the legs of the horse.

Rev: Goddess seated on a wicker stool, holding lotus with long stalk in l. hand resting on waist, and feeding the peacock by a bunch of grapes held in r. hand. Grapes are more prominent than the twigs to which they adhere. No symbol. Legend, *Ajitamahendra.*

(Pl. XI. 2)

(8) Gold; .8″; 126.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIII. 4.

Obv: As above. Legend from I, *Gupta....śaśa..tya* (at VI).*ya jitamahendra.*

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 3)

(9) Gold; .8″; 125.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIII. 5.

Obv: As above. Legend from I, *Gupta..vamaśaśa* (from V) *jayatyaja* (from IX), *jatamahendra.*

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1. The inclusion of this coin in this variety is not quite certain. It may constitute a new variety with a different legend. See *supra*, p. 175.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XIII, 11-15; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 8.; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, Pl. III. 6; *N.Ch.*, 1910, Pl. XIV. 7.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 4)

(10) Gold; .85″; 127 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIII. 7.

Obv: As above. Legend, *Guptakula..śaśa jayatya.ya jita-mahendra.*

Notice the peculiar manner in which the king's hair is dressed.

Rev: As above. Notice how the peacock's head is thrust between the twigs of the bunch, one of them being behind and two in front.

(Pl. XI. 5)

Variety B

(*Guptakulāmalachandro mahendrakarma'jito jayati*)[1]

(11) Gold; .8″; 126.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIV. 3.

Obv: King, bare-headed, riding to l., holding bow in r. hand, sword hanging by l. side. Legend from I, *Guptakula....*, from VI, *mahendra.. jata jayata.*

Rev: Goddess with beautiful torso, seated on wicker-stool, l. hand resting on waist and holding a lotus with long stalk, r. hand holding a bunch of grapes to feed the peacock in her front. Notice how most of the grapes are eaten and twigs are therefore prominent. Symbol on the l. Legend, *Ajitamahendraḥ* in bold characters.

(Pl. XI. 6)

(12) Gold; .85″; 124.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIV. 4.

Obv: As above. Legend, from I to V, *Guptakulāmala(cha)-ndra*, (at VI) *mahendrakarmajata jayati.*

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 7)

(13) Gold; .85″; 126.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIV. 5.

Obv: As above. Legend, *Guptakulamalachandra*, (the last

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIII, 16-19; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i, Pl. III. 13; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 104, Pl. II. 14.

letter being between the two hind legs), (from VI), *mahendrakarmajito jayati.*

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 8)

Variety C

(Kshitipatīrajito vijayī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ)[1]

(14) Gold; .8″; 126.3 grains; Pl. XXIV. 1.

Obv: King, bare-headed, riding to r., having no weapons, sash flying behind. Legend, *Kshitipatirajato*, traces of *vijayī* below the horse's hoof.

Rev: Goddess, as on variety B, but she has only twig with one fruit adhering to it in her r. hand. No symbol. Legend, *Ajitamahendra.*

(Pl. XI. 9)

(15) Gold; .85″; 126.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 3.

Obv: As above. Legend at I, *Kshi*, at VIII, *gupta jayatya-ji(taḥ).*

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 10)

Variety D

(Pṛithivītaleśvarendraḥ Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ)

(16) Gold; .8″; 125.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 11.

Obv: King bare-headed, riding to l. carrying bow in l. hand. Legend, beginning at VII, *Pṛithivītalaśvaren-dra Ku.*

Rev: As in variety C, but the goddess has two fruits and no bunch in her r. hand. Lotus in l. hand. Symbol on l. Legend truncated.

(Pl. XI. 11)

(17) Gold; .85″; 126.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 14.

Obv: Notice the pleating of the mane of the horse and the button line of the king's coat. Legend beginning at VII, *Pṛithavītaleśvarendra Kumā*, on r., *ragupta jaya.*

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1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XIII. 6-9. For the correct reading of the concluding portion of the legend, see pp. 176-7.

Rev: As above. The lotus in the hand of the goddess is treated as a cornucopiæ.

(Pl. XI. 12)

(18) Gold; .8″; 125.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 15.

Obv: As above. Legend at VII, *Pṛithavītaleśvarendra Kuma*, on r., *ragupta dava jayata*, truncated.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XI. 13)

SWORDSMAN TYPE

The Swordsman type is an innovation of the mint-masters of Kumāragupta. Only six coins of this type were known till the discovery of the Bayana hoard, which contained ten specimens. Two coins of this type were found in the bed of the Ganges at Patna. The find spots of the remaining coins are not known.

The Swordsman type represents a modification of the Standard type of Samudragupta. The king is here also offering incense at the altar in his front, but his dress now betrays no traces of foreign influence. Garuḍa standard is retained, but the Standard in the king's l. hand has been dispensed with; instead, we find the king resting his left hand on the hilt of the sword. The coins of this type are remarkable for their artistic grace.

The obverse legend is almost the same as that on the Chhatra type of Chandragupta II, the word *kshiti* being-substitiuted for its synonym *gā*. The obverse of both these types has the same motif, viz., the king offering incense on an altar, but in the Swordsman type, there is no umbrella-bearer behind.

The reverse of this type is exactly similar to that of the Archer type, class I; both types were probably issued early in the reign.

The name of Kumāragupta appears without any regal title whatsoever in the legends on both the obverse and reverse.

This would show that we cannot draw positive and definite conclusions from the absence of regal titles on any particular type. On the obverse legend of the present type, the regal title is omitted probably owing to metrical exigencies. The reverse legend was traditionally small; hence the absence of titles or the presence of only short ones like *rājā* in *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ* on the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta.

Some specimens of this type are issued to the weight standard of 127 grains and some to that of 124 grains.

We now describe the type below.[1]

Obv: King nimbate, standing to r., wearing head-dress with crest jewel, necklace, armlets, etc., offering incense on the altar before him by r. hand; l. hand resting on the hilt of the sword hanging below the waist. Garuḍa standard in front of the king. The letter *Ku* under a crescent by the side of the sword. Circular legend, commencing at I, '*Gāmava-jitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*' (**Pl. XXII. 34**), 'Having conquered the earth, Kumāragupta wins the heaven (also) by his meritorious acts.' Metre, Upagīti.

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated to front on a lotus, holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the l., resting on waist. Symbol on the left. Legend, *Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXIV. 61**).

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(1) Gold; .85″; 125.9 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXI. 6.

Obv: As in the general description given above. Armlets, necklace and crest jewel are all distinct and graceful. Altar is just visible; right hand is open and emptied out, but the objects offered are not to be seen. King's

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XII. 15-8; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, Pl. III. 9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. II. 9; *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI. 2; *N.Chr.*, 1891, Pl. II. 10.

l. hand rests on the hilt of the sword. Legend, beginning at I, *Gāmavajatya sucharita Kumāragu.*

Rev: As in general description above. Legend, *Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.*

(**Pl. XI. 14**)

(2) Gold; .8″; 125.3; *B.H.*, Pl. XXI. 15.

Obv: *Gāmavajatya sucha. .. ...gupta dava ja.ti;* last letter is at XI.

Rev: As above. Noose almost off the flan. Legend in bold characters, *Śra Kumāragupta.*

(**Pl. XI. 15**)

LION-SLAYER TYPE

The Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II was continued by his son Kumāragupta I, but it does show neither the striking variety nor high artistic merit, which is the characteristic of the coins of this type issued by the father. The king generally faces to right; on only one coin discovered in the Bayana hoard, we find him facing left. That pleasing and interesting variety, which we saw on the reverse of this type of Chandragupta II, is altogether absent here; the mount of the goddess is always couchant; it is never walking. The goddess also is invariably seated facing, with one leg folded up and the other hanging down; she does not sit astride the lion, nor does she face to right or left. The legends are usually indistinct; only in two varieties we have succeeded in deciphering them. Neither the body of the king nor that of the lion shows any artistic beauty. There is thus a distinct artistic deterioration in this type. It must be, however, added that the reclining posture of the goddess in variety A of class I (**Pl. XII. 1**) is graceful.

This type is similar to that of Chandragupta's Lion-slayer type, and so no general description is necessary. Coins were generally issued to the weight standard of 127 grains, but about 15% coins follow 124 grains standard. One coin, however, weighs as high as 131 grains.

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The coins of this type can be divided into two classes, Lion-combatant and Lion-trampling. The Lion-retreating class, which we had seen in the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II, is absent in this reign; nor do we find the king attacking the beast with the sword, as Chandragupta II is shown to be doing on one specimen.

It will be convenient to divide the coins of each class into different varieties according to their legends.

CLASS I

(LION-COMBATANT)

In variety A of class I (**Pl. XII. 1**), the legend begins with *Kshitipati*, but cannot be yet completed. Such traces, as can be seen, seem to show that the legend was '*Kshitipatirajitamahendraḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*' (**Pl. XXII. 32**); 'Kumāragupta, unconquered Mahendra, being (already) the lord of earth, wins heaven.' The metre is Upagīti. The goddess on the reverse is in a beautiful *tribhaṅga* pose, reclining on her left arm and holding a lotus in the right. There is no symbol.

In variety B (**Pl. XII. 2**), the legend cannot be so far completed; it begins with *Kumāra*. Mr. Allan has restored it as *Kumāragupto vijayī siṁhamahendro divaṁ jayati*; 'The victorious Kumāragupta, lion-like Mahendra, wins the heaven.' There are, however, hardly any letters visible after the word *Kumāra* either on the coin illustrated by Mr. Allan (*B. M. C., G. D.*, Pl. XIV. 9), or on the other coins of this type discovered in the Bayana hoard. Mr. Allan's reading of the legend must be regarded as conjectural. The right hand of the goddess on the reverse is open and empty in this variety and the left one is bent up, holding a lotus. There is a symbol on the left.

In variety C (**Pl. XII. 3-4**), the legend is '*Kumāragupto yudhi siṁhavikramaḥ*' (**Pl. XXII. 31**); 'Kumāragupta, who is as valorous as lion in the battle.' The metre is *Vaṁsthavila*. On the reverse, the goddess is seen scattering gold coins by right hand and holding a lotus in the left. There is a symbol on the left.

In variety D (**Pl. XII. 5**), the legend is too indistinct to be deciphered; the king is to right and the object in the right hand of the goddess is indistinct.

CLASS II

(Lion-trampler)

In clsss II the king is trampling upon the lion. In variety A (**Pl. XII. 6-8**), the legend is '*Sākshādiva narasiṁho siṁhamahendro jayatyaniśam*' (**Pl. XXII. 30**); 'Narasiṁha as it were incarnate, the lion-like Mahendra, is ever victorious.' The metre is Upagīti. In variety B (**Pl. XII. 9-10**), the legend begins with *Kumāra*, but cannot be so far completed. The goddess on the reverse holds a curions garland in the r. hand and a lotus in the left. The symbol of this variety is also peculiar. This variety first came to light in 1925.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 6

CLASS I

(Lion-combatant)

Variety A

(Legend beginning with *Kshitipati*)[1]

(1) Gold; .75″; 126.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVIII. 9.

Obv: King not nimbate, standing to r., wearing diadem, sash, *jānghiā*, necklace, earrings, wristlets and armlets shooting at lion in his front; arrow visible above the arm. Circular legend, beginning at I, *Kshatapa(ti)*.

Rev: Goddess seated on lion couchant to r., reclining on arm resting on waist and holding lotus stalk with leaves in outstretched r. hand. No symbol; legend on r., *Śrīmahendrasiṁhaḥ*.

(**Pl. XII. 1**)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIV, 6-8; *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI. 6.

Variety B

(Legend beginning with *Kumāra*)[1]

(2) Gold; .8″; 127.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVIII. 11.

Obv: King as above. Circular legend beginning at I, *Kumāra*.

Rev: Goddess seated as above, but l. hand, bent up, holds a flower with long stalk; r. hand opened out and empty. Symbol in the l. corner. Legend, *Saṅha-mahendra*.

(Pl. XII. 2)

Variety C[2]

(Legend, *Kumāragupto yudhi siṅhavikramaḥ*)[3]

(3) Gold; .8″; 125.9 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVIII. 7.

Obv: King standing to r., as above. Legend, beginning at VII, *..ragupto yudha*, at I, *saṅhavikrama*. Traces of the lower portion of *ku* and *ma* can be seen at VII; *sa* is between the top of the bow and the head of the king.

Rev: Goddess as above, but holding lotus with long stalk in l. hand resting on thigh, and scattering coins by r., which is opened out. Symbol on l. Legend, *Siṅhamahendra* blurred.

(Pl. XII. 3)

(4) Gold; .8″; 123.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVIII. 5.

Obv: As above. King's torso graceful. Legend on l. off the flan; on r. *yudha saṅhavīkra*. Reading of the legend is slightly doubtful. The first letter at I can be taken as *yu* only if we suppose that its left limb

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XIV. 9.
2. *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XIV, 10-14; *I.M.C.*, I., Pl. XVI. 5.
3. There is a difference in the spelling of the last word; sometimes we have *siṁha*, and sometimes *siṅha*, sometimes *vikrama* and sometimes *vikkrama*.

is off the flan. and the medial *mātrā* of *yu* is shown differently. The next three letters *dhasaṅha* are fairly clear.

Rev: As above, but lotus stalk is twisted at the centre.

(Pl. XII. 4)

Variety D

(King to r. and lion to l.)

(5) Gold; .85″; 126 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVIII. 13.

Obv: King standing and facing left, (with frizzled hair, wearing a beautiful coat with short sleeves, half-pant and sash) and shooting arrow at lion in his front. Legend is blurred and illegible.

Rev: Goddess seated on lion couchant to l. holding lotus with long stalk in l. hand resting on waist and some indistinct object in r. hand bent up. Symbol at IX. Legend, *Śrāmahendrasiṅha.*

(Pl. XII. 6)

CLASS II

(Lion-trampler)

Variety A

(*Sākshādiva narasiṅhaḥ siṅhamahendro jayatyaniśaṁ*)[1]

(6) Gold; .75″; 127.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIX. 1.

Obv: King to r., bare-bodied, wearing a head-dress and *jāṅghiā*, trampling upon and shooting at lion in front, which falls back from a leap. Legend from I, *Sākshādiva na...*, ...at VI, *ndra jayatyanaśaṁ*, last letter being just near kings head.

Rev: Goddess seated on lion couchant to r., holding noose in r. hand and lotus in l., which is treated as a cornucopiæ. Symbol on left. Legend, *Śrīmahendra-siṅha.*

(Pl. XII. 7)

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIV. 1-3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, Pl. III. 7.

(7) Gold; .8″; 126.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIX. 2.

Obv: As above; at I *Sakshā*, from VII, *saṅhmahandra jayatyanaśaṁ*, partly truncated.

(Pl. XII. 8)

Rev: As above.

Variety B

(Incomplete legend beginning with *Kumāra*)[1]

(8) Gold; .8″; 125.6 grains; *B.H.* Pl. XXIX. 10.

Obv: King to r. trampling upon lion by l. foot; arrow on the bow distinctly visible. Tense action noticeable in king's body. Legend at I, *Kumāra*, blurred.

Rev: Goddess seated on lion couchant to r., holding a peculiar garland in r. hand and lotus in l., resting on thigh. Can the garland be one of sculls (*muṇḍamālā*) ?

Symbol on l.; legend, *Siṅhamahendraḥ*, blurred.

(Pl. XII. 9)

(9) Gold; .8″; 125.9 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIX. 11.

Obv: As above, but *Kumāra* is fairly clear at II.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XII. 10)

(10) Gold; .8″; 126.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIX. 15.

Obv: The king does not fall back so much as on the two earlier coins; grim and tense action well depicted. Arrow visible over the king's arm. Legend, *Kumara* at I, rather blurred.

Rev: Symbol is blurred. Garland is distinct. Legend, as above, but blurred.

(Pl. XII. 5)

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE

Tiger-slayer type was one of the rare types of Samudragupta; we find Kumāragupta reviving it in his reign. The

1. *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, 1925.

resemblance to the prototype is fairly close on the obverse; the king faces left wearing a similar head-dress and shoots the tiger by arrow; there is a crescent standard between the two. The wording of the legend is also similar; Kumāragupta only adds the word *śrīmāṁ* in the beginning and *bala* in the middle, the new legend thus assuming the form, *Śrīmāṁ vyāghraybala-parākramaḥ* (**Pl. XXII. 35**); 'the glorious (king), whose strength and valour is like that of a tiger.' On Samudragupta's coins the entire legend was on the right; here the word *śrīmāṁ* is always on the left. The *anusvāra* above the letter *mā* is, however, not to be seen on any specimen.

Thc reverse is influenced partly by that of the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta and partly by the Horseman type of Kumāragupta I. Goddess is standing on a crocodile as on Samudragupta's type, but she is feeding a peacock, as on the Horseman type of the present emperor. As she is not seated on a wicker stool, she is naturally seen considerably bent down while feeding the peacock, The presence of the peacock necessitates the removal of the crescent standard, which figured also on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta.

The reverse legend is an adaptation from and an improvement over that of Samudragupta. It reads '*Kumāragupto' dhirājā*'; (**Pl. XXIV. 62**); 'the emperor Kumāragupta,' the word *adhirājā* being obviously more appropriate than *rājā* for an emperor. The change in wording here seems to be deliberate.[1]

Kumāragupta's Tiger-slayer type, which was once confused with his Lion-slayer type,[2] is artistically much superior to the latter. The attitude of the king is energetic and deter-

1. The term *adhirājā* denotes the supreme position; cf. *Himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ*. Smith's view that this term would indicate that the present coin-type may have been issued early in the reign of Kumāragupta (*J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 124) is untenable.
2. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 108.

mined. The posture and expression of the goddess on the reverse is just like that of a modern lady of fashion feeding her pet. As the king is shown facing left, it was inevitable that he should be shown as drawing the bow by the left hand; whether the artist's intention was to show him as ambidextrous, it is difficult to say.

The coins of this type are usually divided into two varieties, variety A consisting of those whieh have the letter *Ku* in the field and variety B, which are without this latter. The coins of the variety A are more numerous than those of the variety B; the Bayana hoard contained 33 coins of the former variety as against only three of the latter.

Vast majority of the coins of this type are issued to the weight standard of 127 grains; there are, however, a few pieces following the lighter standard of 121 and 124 grains.[1]

We now give a general description of this type.

Obv: King standing l., wearing waist cloth, jewelry and head-dress, shooting with bow held in r. hand and strung by the l., tiger which falls backwards on l.; r. foot of the king is trampling on the beast. Crescent-topped standard with fillet on l. *Ku* in the field in variety A only. Legend, commencing at II, *Śrīmaṁ vyāghrabalaparākramaḥ* (**Pl. XXII. 35**).

Rev: Goddess standing to l. on crocodile, holding a lotus of long stalk behind her in l. hand and feeding peacock with fruits by her r. hand; symbol on l. Legend, *Kumāragupto'dhirājā.*[2]

(**Pl. XXIV. 62**)

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XV. 2. weighs only 120. 2 grains and Pl. XV. 1. weighs 123.8 grains.
2. This word was once read by Hoernle as *rājñaḥ* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 123). The last letter is, however, *ja* and not *jñaḥ*. Grammatical construction also shows that *Kumāraguptaḥ* in the nominative cannot be followed by *rājñaḥ* in the genitive.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 3

Variety A

(With *Ku* in the field)[1]

(1) Gold; .8″; 126.9 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVII. 1.

Obv: As described above. The crescent top of the banner looks like a trident above the head of the tiger. Legend at X, *Śrama*, from II to V, *vyāghrabala-parākrama*. *Ku* with a crescent at the top under the l. arm of the king.

Rev: Posture of the goddess is awkward; lotus is clearly visible behind her head. Symbol on l.; legend on r., *Kumāragupto'dhirājā*. Almost all medial vowels are clear.

(Pl. XII. 11)

(2) Gold; .8″; 126.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXII. 5.

Obv: As above. King's body shows tense action. *Ku* with crescent under l. arm. Staff and top of the crescent banner clearly visible. Legend at X, *Śrīmaṁ*, at III, *ghra*.

Rev: As above. Snout of the crocodile is clearly visible. Lotus is not well engraved. Symbol on l. Legend, *Kumāragupo'dhtrājā*.

(Pl. XII. 12)

Variety B

(Without *Ku* in the field)[2]

(3) Gold; .8″; 124 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXIII. 13.

Obv: As above. King's head is bent forward in determined action. Legend at X, *Śrīmaṁ*; from II, *vyāghra-balaparākra*, mostly blurred. There is a letter like *ta* or *bha* before the initial letter *Śrī* of the legend, the presence of which cannot be explained. It may

1. *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XIV. 15-17; XV. 1-4; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. III. 5; *I.M.C.* I. Pl. XVI. 4; *N.Ch.*, 1910, Pl. XV. 15.
2. *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XIV. 14.

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be the top of the crescent banner, crudely engraved.

Rev: Head and snout of the crocodile are clearly visible, as also the lotus with its stalk, Symbol on l. Legend on r., *Kumāragupto'dhirājā*.

(**Pl. XII. 13**)

ELEPHANT-RIDER TYPE

The first coin of this type was found at Mahānada in Bengal along with an Archer-type coin of Kumāragupta I[1] and another Archer-type coin of Skandagupta. Mr. Allan therefore had tentatively ascribed it to Kumāragupta I and his conjecture was later corroborated by the discovery of three more coins of this type in the Bayana hoard, where the king's name and *biruḍa* could be clearly read.

The Elephant-rider type is probably connected with sport. Its obverse shows the king riding on an elephant, which is furiously marching to left. The king himself is the elephant-driver, for he has the goad in his hand. Behind him is the umbrella-bearer, holding an umbrella over the king's head. There is Lakshmī standing on lotus on the reverse, a conch being in the fleld.

The general description of the type is as follows:—

Obv: King bare-headed with diadem, wearing necklace, earrings, armlets and wristlets, riding a caparisoned elephant, furiously marching to left, holding goad in right hand, l. hand resting on waist. Behind the king is a seated attendant holding an umbrella over his head. Circular legend uncertain, but most probably, *Kshataripu-Kumāragupto rājatrātā jayati ripūn* (**Pl. XXIII. 40**); 'Kumāragupta, who has destroyed his enemies and protects (feudatory) kings, is victorious over his foes.' Metre, Upagīti.

Rev: Within dotted border, Lakshmī, nimbate, standing on a lotus, facing, wearing earrings, necklace,

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 88.

bangles, anklets, *sārī*, a flat head-dress and an upper garment whose ends fall on either side. Her right hand is bent up and holds a lotus creeper with buds and flowers; l. hand rests on waist holding a cornucopiæ. No symbol; conch in lower right corner. Legend on right, *Śrīmahendragajaḥ* (**Pl. XXIV. 67**); 'The elephant of king Mahendra'.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(1) Gold; .85″; 129.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 2.

Obv: The umbrella is fully visible. Legend, behind the attendant, the letters *n Kshatara*; between the hind legs of the elephant, *Ku* blurred; below the elephant, *ragupta;* adove elephant's head, *tarapu.*

Rev: Cornucopiæ is indistinct. There is a full-blown lotus near the bottom of the lotus creeper; conch in lower right corner.

(Pl. XII. 14)

(2) Gold; .8″; 125.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 3.

Obv: Staff and fillet of the umbrella visible, but not its top. Legend, arranged as above, *n Kshatarapu*; letters below blurred; above elephant's head, *tarapu.*

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XII. 15)

ELEPHANT-RIDER LION-SLAYER TYPE

The first coin of this type was published by Dr. Hiranand Sastri in 1917[1] from the cast of a specimen offered for sale to Lucknow Museum. It was, however, not a well preservd specimen and the legend could not be properly deciphered. The present writer discovered four fairly good specimens in the Bayana hoard, which has enabled him to restore the

1. *J.A.S.B.*, 1917, p. 155; Pl. VII. 3. The coin could not be purchased by the Lucknow Museum and it is now in a private collection at Lucknow.

legend to some extent. All coins of this type are issued to the weight standard of 127 grains.

The general description of the type is as follows:

Obv: King bare-headed, riding a caparisoned elephant, furiously advanciug to r., raising his r. hand holding a dagger in the posture of attack. Dwarf behind him, holding a *chhatra* over his head. A lion is in front of the elephant, which the latter is about to trample with l. fore-leg; the lion tries to bite the r. front leg of the elephant by opening its jaw. Circular legend is uncertain and incomplete. It begins wiht *Kshata*; probably it may have been the same as that on the Elephant-rider type, *Kshataripu-Kumāragupto rājatrātā jayati ripūn* (**Pl. XXIII. 40**). The metre is Upagīti.

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, wearing earrings, necklace, bangles, and armlets, with hair on head tied in a knot above the neck, standing three-fourths to r. on a lotus, but looking to l., and holding in r. hand some indistinct object before a peacock looking up towards it; l. hand resting on waist and holding a lotus with long stalk. The goddess is wearing a *sārī*, and an upper garment, whose ends are hanging on her either side. No symbol. Legend partly on the l. and partly on the r., *Śiṅhanihantā Mahendragajah.*, (**Pl. XXIV. 68**); 'The elephant of king Mahendra, destroyer of lion.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(1) Gold; .8″; 126.8 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 2.

Obv: Parasol is visible over the king's head. Elephant's body is elegant and it is lifting up its trunk in fury. Lion is only partly visible on the coin. Elephant's left fore-leg is being planted upon the back of the lion. Legend beginning at XII, *Kshata*, at IX,

yatara, at X, *pūn*.

Rev: Plumage of the peacock is fully visible. Torso of the goddess is graceful, but her legs are clumsy. No symbol. Legend, at X, *Siṁhaṇi*, at III, *hanta Mahendragaja*; rather blurred. (**Pl. XIII. 1**)

(2) Gold; .75″; 115.2 grains, but much worn; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 3.

Obv: Attendant is poorly drawn and the parasol in his hand is off the flan. The lion is almost fully accommodated on the flan and his jaw, opened out to bite the elephant's leg, can be distinctly seen. Legend is incomplete and indistinct; *Kshata* at XII. Crack in the coin at II.

Rev: Peacock's plumage is not quite distinct, as also the legend on the l.; on r., *hata Mahandragaja*.

(**Pl. XIII. 2**)

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE

The Rhinoceros-slayer type is a new addition made to the sport series by Kumāragupta. It became known for the first time from the Bayana hoard in 1947 when four of its specimens were identified by the present writer. A fifth specimen was purchased by the Lucknow Museum in 1948; it was published in *J.N.S.I.*, XI. pp. 9-10, Pl. III. 7.

This type is both unique and artistic. On the obverse the king is riding a horse and attacking a rhinoceros by the sword. The legend is metrical and makes a pun upon the word *khaḍga*, which means both a sword and a rhinoceros; it reads, *Bhartā khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśaṁ*, (**Pl. XXII. 36**); 'Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is *khaḍgatrātā*, protector by the sword (*khaḍgena trātā*) from the rhinoceros (*khaḍgāt trātā*). The metre is Upagīti. The reverse is unique; the goddess has a female parasol-bearer behind and is being offered a lotus by the snout by an elephant-headed crocodile upon which she is standing.

Coins of this type are all issued to the weight standard of 127 grains.

We now give a general description of this type.

Obv: King bare-headed, with flowing frizzled locks (*alaka*) on head, riding on caparisoned horse to r., wearing buttoned coat and trousers, leaning forward and attacking a rhinoceros with the sword in r. hand. Horse raises up its head, slightly frightened. Rhinoceros stands at bay, turning back its head to attack, mouth being open. The beast is engraved realistically and beautifully, the horn on the head, l. eye, two ears, circular spots on the body, the tail and the four feet being all clear. Full circular legend is (*Bhartā?*) *khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśaṁ* (**Pl. XXII. 36**).

Rev: Within dotted border goddess Gaṅgā, not nimbate, standing to l. on an elephant-headed crocodile, holding lotus with long stalk in its trunk. R. hand of the goddess extended, forefinger pointing out at some object, not visible on the flan. L. hand is hanging down by the side empty. Hair on the head of the goddess is tied in a knot behind and she wears earrings, necklace and bangles. Behind the goddess a female attendant holding in her r. hand a *chhatra* (umbrella), without fillet, its staff being denoted by a dotted line; her l. hand is on the waist. Symbol on the r. Legend on the l., *Śrī-mahendra-khaḍga*. 'Rhinoceros (killed by) king Mahendra.'

(**Pl. XXIV. 63**)

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

(1) Gold; .75″; 127.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 5.

Obv: King's head slightly off the flan. Buttons of the coat clear. All four legs of the rhinoceros are visible. Legend at I, *ta Kumāragupta jayatya*.

Rev: Lotus stalk partly visible; symbol on r.; legend on l., *Śra-Mahandrakhaḍga.*

(Pl. XIII. 3)

(2) Gold; .75″; 127.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 6.

Obv: The buttons of the coat are very clear. Legs of the rhinoceros are just visible. Legend, beginning at X, *Khagatrata Kumāragupta ja,* slightly blurred.

Rev: As above, but the feet of the goddess are turned, as she was about to face to r., though actually she is facing l. The pointing fore-fingre of the r. hand is not clear on this specimen. The elephant-headed crocodile holding the lotus in its snout is fully visible. The lotus can be clearly seen above the r. hand of the goddess. Female attendant is rather tall and blurred, but her breasts are prominently visible. Legend on the l., *Śra-Mahandrakhaga,* blurred, but the letters *khaga* are fairly distinct. Symbol on the r.

(Pl. XIII. 4)

(3) Gold; .8″; 128.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 7.

Obv: Buttons of the king's coat are not clear on this specimen. The feet and the lower part of the body of the rhinoceros are truncated. Legend, beginning at IX, (*Bha?*)*tta khagatata* (*Bharttā khaḍgatrātā*). The lower loop of the crucial letter *kha* is quite distinct on this coin above the king's r. shoulder.

Rev: Goddess is turned slightly to r., though she is actually looking to l. Crocodile is fully visible, as also the lotus stalk in its snout, but the lotus is represented merely by four dots. The female attendant is blurred and indistinct; the dotted line of the umbrella is quite clear. Legend on the l., *Śra Mahandrakhaga,* the last two letters being blurred.

(Pl. XIII. 5)

(4) Gold; .8″; 126.1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 8.

Obv: Buttons of the coat faintly visible. Feet of the rhinoceros off the flan; the fury on its face is remarkable. Legend beginning at IX, (*Bha?*) *ta kagatata* [*Bha*(*?*)*rtā khaḍgatrātā*]. *Kha* above the r. shoulder has a broad triangular base.

Rev: Crocodile. its tail and snout holding the lotus stalk, as also the lotus are all very clear. Attendant is dwarf as usual. Symbol on the r., the same as on No. 3, but partly off. Legend on the l., *Śra Mahandrakhaga*.

(Pl. XIII. 6)

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE

Epigraphs nowhere mention any Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Kumāragupta, but his coins show that he must have performed at least one. The specimens of the Aśvamedha type of Kumāragupta are very rare. For a long time only two were known and they were in the British Museum; one of them was procured in Mathurā and the find-spot of the other was unknown. In 1947 four specimens of this type were discovered by the present writer in the Bayana hoard and later two specimens were purchased by the Lucknow Museum and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, one each.

The Britiah Museum specimens showed the horse upon the obverse as caparisoned and not bare, as on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta. But the Bayana hoard contained two coins imitating the pattern of Samudragupta. The obverse legend is not yet fully read; it appears to be in prose and seems to be '*Devojitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā*' (**Pl. XXIII. 39**); 'King Kumāragupta, the supreme lord, who has conquered his enemies.' Mr. Allan had thought that the legend included the expression *Jayati divaṁ Kumāra*, and that the characters under the horse looked like (*a*)*śvamedha*.[1] The word *Kumāra*,

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. cxvi; p. 68.

however, appears clearly below the horse on some of the new coins in the Bayana hoard, and is followed by *guptodhirājā*; the reading suggested above, therefore, appers to be a more probable one. The reverse legend is *Śrī-aśvamedhamahendraḥ*; (**Pl. XXIV. 66**).

Artistically the Aśvamedha coins of Kumāragupta are very much inferior to those of his illustrious grand-father. The horse on Samudragupta's coins looks graceful and majestic; that on the coins of Kumāragupta, whether bare or caparisoned, can stand no comparison to it. The *yūpa* is crude and neither its *raśanā*[1] nor its *chashāla* can be seen. The letter *si*, which occurs below the horse on the coins of Samudragupta, is to be seen on no specimens of Kumāragupta. The figure of the queen on the reverse is stumpy, bent and fat and is thus very inferior to that of the queen on Samudragupta's coins, where it is tall, slim and graceful.

All the coins of this type are issued to the standard of 127 grains.

We can distinguish two varieties in this type. In variety A the horse is caparisoned and faces right; in variety B, it is bare and faces left.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

Variety A

(Caparisoned horse)[2]

(1) Gold; .8″; 126.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 9.

Obv: Caparisoned horse standing to r. before a *yūpa*, which is off the flan, but whose pedestal is just visible; penon flies above the horse. Circular legend incomplete, beginning at IX, *Davajataśata* (*Devo jitaśatruḥ*) *Kumāra*[*gupto'dhirājā*].
First four letters are above the tail, separated by the penon from the last five.

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1. For the meaning of these words, see *ante*, pp. 62-5.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XII. 13-14; *J.R.A.S.*, 1888, Pl. III. 1.

Rev: Within dotted border, queen standing to l., wearing *sārī* and upper garment, holding *chowrī* in r. hand over r. shoulder, l. hand hanging down, holding a small towel. In front of the queen is an ornamental *sūchi* with fillet hanging down. Legend is blurred, *Śrī-aśvamedhamahendra.* No symbol.

(Pl. XIII. 7)

(2) Gold; .8″; 127.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 10.

Obv: Caparisoned horse to r. as on No. 1. *Yūpa* and a part of its pedestal are partly visible. Penon flies over the horse. Blurred traces of truncated legend between IX and I, *Davajataśata Kama* (*Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumā*) [*raguptodhirājā*].

Rev: Queen standing to l. as on No. 1; her l. leg is slightly bent. Legend blurred, *Śrī-aśvamedhamaha.*

(Pl. XIII. 8)

Variety B

(Bare horse)

(3) Gold; .85″; 126.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 11.

Obv: Bare horse, standing to l. in front of a *yūpa* on a pedestal; penon flying over it. Legend as in variety A, beginning at XI, *Dava jataśata,* under the horse *Kumāraguptadharājā.* (*Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā*).

Rev: Queen standing to l. holding a *chowrī* in r. hand over the r. shoulder and a towel in the l. hanging down. No symbol. Legend, *Śrī-aśvamedhamaha-*(*ndraḥ*).

(Pl. XIII. 9)

(5) Gold; .85″; 126.5 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXX. 12.

Obv: Bare horse standing to l. as on No. 1. *Yūpa* and pedestal are more fully visible than on No, 1. Legend beginning at XII, *Dava jataśatru Ku*, under the horse, *maragupta...* (*Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā*).

Rev: Queen standing as on No. 1 above, but her features are very indistinct; towel in the l. hand looks like a rope with a loop at the end. No symbol. Legend, *Śrī-aśvamedhama[hendraḥ]*.

(Pl. XIII. 10)

KARTIKEYA TYPE[1]

Kumāragupta was named after Kumāra or Kārtikeya. The Kārtikeya type, obviously an innovation of the emperor, was intended to pay homage to that deity. The idea to introduce this type appears to have occurred late in the reign, for its specimens are not numerous. The Bayana hoard, which contained 628 coins of Kumāragupta, had only 13 specimens of this type, as against 183 of the Archer type and 305 of the Horseman type. Smith no doubt refers to a hoard of 200 coins found near Allahabad, consisting mostly of the Peacock type coins of Kumāragupta I.) But Cunningham, who had reported the discovery of this hoard to Smith, had seen only four specimens of this hoard and was not in a position to classify its contents or note their types.[2] It may, therefore, be well doubted whether the hoard really consisted of about 200 coins of the Peacock type. The Jhūsī (Allahabad) hoard[3] of about 20 to 30 coins is said to have contained eight coins of the Peacock type. The Bharsar hoard[4] had only one coin of this type and the Kotwa hoard had two.[5]

On the obverse of this type, we see the king feeding a

1. The types of the Gupta gold coins are usually named after the motif on the obverse; so this type has been usually called 'Peacock type', as the emperor is feeding that bird on the obverse. But as the type is obviously intended as a numismatic homage to Kārtikeya, whose figure appears on the reverse, we have thought it advisable to name it as the Kārtikeya type.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 152.
3. *Ibid*, p. 152.
4. *Ibid*, 1852. p. 401.
5. *Ibid*, 1889, p. 46.

peacock,[1] the mount of Kārtikeya, whose figure appears on the reverse. The obverse legend is not yet possible to decipher completely. It begins with *Jayati svaguṇair*[2]*guṇa*[3] and ends with *Mahendrakumāraḥ*; 'Victorious is Mahendrakumāra, by his own merits....' The reverse shows Kārtikeya,[4] seated on his mount peacock holding a *śakti* (spear) in his left hand and apparently scattering something by his right hand upon an object which looks like an altar.

Two varieties are distinguished in this type,—Variety A, where the king on the obverse stands upright and Kārtikeya on the reverse is three-fourths to left, and variety B, where the king is slightly stooping and Kārtikeya is facing to front. Variety A is more common than variety B. On one coin published by Dr. H. Sastri, the king on the obverse is seen standing with his legs crossing each other.[5]

Coins of this type are all issued to the standard of 127 grains.

We now give a full description of the type.

Obv: King, standing nimbate, bare-headed and bare-bodied, with sash round his waist and falling down, wearing *sakachchha dhotī* and jewelry[6] and

1. Hoernle's view that we have two peacocks on some coins seems to be untenablc; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 121.
2. Mr. Allan had read this word as *svabhumau* in the *Catalogue*; but a better specimen enabled him later to correct the reading as *svaguṇair*; *N.Ch.* 1935; p. 225.
3. Dr. H. Shastri had suggested that the intervening word may have deen *śatrunihantā*, (*J.A.S.B.*, 1917, p. 15.), but the specimens in the Bayana hoard show that *guṇair* was followd by *guṇa*.
4. The breasts of the figure are prominent and Smith had thought that it might be a female. But *śakti* in the r. hand shows that it is intended to be Kārtikeya. On some coins, Knmāragupta's breasts are equally prominent; see **Pl. X. 5, 9.**
5. *J.A.S.B.*, 1917; p. 154, Pl. VII. 2.
6. There is a curious conical ornament on the head of the king.

offering to the peacock, facing him, a twig of grapes held in r. hand; l. hand hangs on the hip. Legend beginning at I, *jayati svaguṇairguṇa*. . . and ending with *Mahendrakumārah* (**Pl. XXII. 33**), 'Victorious by his own merit is Mahendrakumāra, [a heap of merit (?)].'

Rev: Kārtikeya, nimbate, riding a peacock, holding spear in l. hand resting on his shoulder and apparently scattering something by r. hand over an indistinct object before him. Peacock is perched upon a kind of platform. No symbol; legend, *Mahendrakumāraḥ*; (**Pl. XXIV. 60**).[1]

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

Variety A

(King standing upright and Kārtikeya three-quarters to left)[2]

(1) Gold; .8″; 126.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVI. 1.

Obv: Peacock is only partly visible on the coin, but the twig of grapes is distinct. Legend from I, *Jayati svaguṇairguṇa*..., at X, *Kumāra*.

Rev: Kārtikeya seated on peacock three-fourths to l.; r. hand is opened out above an altar (?). Legend, blurred.

(**Pl. XIII. 11**)

(2) Gold; .8″; 127.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVI. 3.

Obv: Peacock is indistinct. Legend, *Jayata svaguṇairguṇa*...; letters that follow are not distinct.

Rev: As above. Legend *Mahendraku*.

(**Pl. XIII. 12**)

(3) Gold; .8″; 126.6 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVI. 6.

Obv: As above; legend, from I, *Jayati svaguṇaiguṇaragra* (?) from X, *Mahandrakumaraḥ*,

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1. **Pl. XXIV. 60**, however, includes the additional letter *śrī*.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XV. 5-11; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i. Pl. IV. I; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889. Pl. III. 1.

Rev: As above.

(Pl. XIII. 13)

Variety B

(King slightly bent and Kārtikeya facing)[1]

(4) Gold; .8″; 127.0 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVI. 12.

Obv: The king, who is slightly bent forward, has no fruits in his r. hand, which is well above the head of the peacock. He is apparently pointing something to the peacock. Legend is blurred. *Jaya.svaguṇarguṇā (ravinda* (?)*—kumāraḥ.*

Rev: Platform of the peacock fully visible. R. hand is opend out but no objects are seen falling from it. Legend, blurred.

(Pl. XIII. 14)

CHHATRA TYPE

The Chhatra type was very popular with Chandragupta II, but his son Kumāragupta issued very few coins in it. As a matter of fact none of them were known till the discovery of the Bayana hoard, which contained only two of its specimens.[2] The type is a close copy of the Chhatra type of Chandragupta II. The obverse legend is not fully preserved; it begins with *Jayati mahītalaṁ* '(The king) conquers the earth..' The weight standard is that of 127 grains.

We describe the coin illustrated.

Gold; .8″; 126. 1 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXVI. 14.

Obv: King nimbate standing to l., wearing *dhotī*, necklace and earrings. Torso and head bare, curly hair hanging down from the latter. R. hand of the king is extended and is offering oblations on an altar, which is off the flan. Behind the king is a dwarf with frizzled hair on the head, standing and holding a parasol by r. hand; his l. hand resting on l. leg

1. *B.M.C., G,D.*, Pl. XV. 12-14.
2. See Addenda for a third coin of this type.

raised up. Legend from I, incomplete, *Jayata mahata* (*Jayati mahītalaṁ*) (**Pl. XXIII. 42**).

Rev: Goddess nimbate standing to l., wearing necklace and bangles, holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus with a long stalk in l., hanging down by her side. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Śrīmahendrāditya* (**Pl. XXIV. 64**).

(**Pl. XIII. 15**)

APRATIGHA TYPE

The Apratigha type of Kumāragupta is again one of his new types; the mystery about its nature and significance is, however, not yet solved. The type was called King-and-two-Queens type by early numismatists on the assumption that the two figures by the side of Kumāragupta were females. This assumption is, however, not correct. The figure on the right is no doubt a female, but that on the left is a male; he is holding a shield close to his torso and so appears to have prominent breasts like a female.

Mr. Allan in his *Catalogue* described this type as *Pratāpa* type, because he thought that the legend on the reverse was *Śrīpratāpa*. Fresh specimens, since discovered in the Bayana hoard, however make it quite clear that the reverse legend is not *Śrīpratāpa* but *Apratigha*. As the significance of the type is still a mystery, I have designated it as *Apratigha* type.

It has not yet become possible to read the circular legend on the obverse.[1] It seems to begin at XII, and the first five letters can be read as *Pratapapara*. The next three letters are taken by Prof. Mirashi as defective *ma*, *dha* and *ra* and he reads the eight letters as an *Anushṭubh* hemistish, *Pratāpaparamādhāraḥ*. The sixth letter however can hardly be taken as *ma*, and the next two signs resemble the numerals 50 and 7 more than any other letters or figures. One, how ever, cannot expect numerals in the midst of a legend.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. X. p. 115; Vol. XII. p. 68.

Prof. Mirashi reads after *Pratāpaparamādharaḥ*, *śrīprathamakramā-kramavapuḥ*. which is a part of *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ* line. We cannot expect a hemistich in one metre to be followed by a portion of a line in another. We can suggest a plausible reading for some of these letters, but they cannot be combined into an intelligible legend. We must await the discovery of fresh and better specimens to solve the riddle of the legend.

We now proceed to describe the type.

Obv: A male figure standing in the centre, wearing a *dhotī*, with folds hanging between the legs; hands folded at the waist, a protuberance on the head as on the Buddha images, or hair tied in a knot. To the right a female figure standing to left, hair tied in a knot on the head, wearing a *sārī* and a tight bodice (*kañchukī*); left hand on the waist; r. hand bent up and raised in the attitude of *vitarka* (argumentation), fingers almost touching the face of the central figure; another figure, a male, standing to right, wearing a close fitting cap, left hand holding a shield in front of the torso, right hand bent up either holding Garuḍadhvaja just behind the central figure or in the *vitarkamudrā*. None of the figures is nimbate. Legend written horizontally, but in lines placed vertically between the central figure and the figures on his either side; on right side, to be read from top to bottom *Kumāra*; on the left side, to be read from bottom to top, *guptaḥ* (**Pl. XXIV. 67**). Circular legend, beginning at XII, *Pratapapara*, probably standing for *Pratāpapara*; what follows is not clear.

Rev: Within dotted border, goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on a beautiful, full-blown double petalled lotus; her left hand on waist akimbo; right hand bent up and holding a lotus (crudely

represented by four thick dots) with long stalk having two lotus buds at the bottom, symbol at the centre screening the lotus stalk. Crescent in the right upper corner in most cases. Legend on the right, *Apratighaḥ* (**Pl. XXIV. 69**).

The precise significance of this type is still a mystery. The central figure is expressly labelled as Kumāragupta.[1] But why does he fold his hands on his chest ? Why does he wear no jewelry ? Why are his hair tied on the head in a knot ? These questions we cannot answer. On gold Gupta coins, the reverse legend is generally an epithet of the emperor; why is Kumāragupta called *apratigha* or invincible in the reverse legend ? Who is the lady on the right ? Why is she arguing with the king ? Is she his queen ? The person on the left is holding a shield in the left hand and a Garuḍa-standard in the right. Is he a general? His attitude is also of a person arguing or expostulating. Is he engaged in reinforcing the arguments of the lady on the right ?

We cannot unfortunately answer any of these questions with confidence. Definite answers can possibly be given when the long circular legend on the obverse becomes legible. As it is, it is still defying our attempts at decipherment.

A tentative suggestion may be hazarded. The central figure is undoubtedly Kumāragupta, since he is expressly described as such. The lady on the right may be his queen and the soldier on the left his general or crown prince. Both of them are expostulating with him. Can it be that the emperor is contemplating renunciation and that his queen and general or Crown-prince are trying to dissuade him without success ?[2] The folded

1. Dr. R.C. Majumdar's view that the vertical legend reads *Mihirakula* and not *Kumāragupta* (*J.N.S.*I., Pl. XII. p. 72) is not tenable.
2. Prof. V. V. Mirashi has suggested that the central figure is that of a *yogī* whom the queen and the crown-prince are consulting about the best way to overcome the calamities of the empire (*J.N.S.I.*, XII. 68). But the attitude of the lady is one of expostulation and not of entreaty.

hands on the chest of the emperor may indicate his inability to accept their arguments. He is firm in his resolution and is therefore described on the reverse as *apratigha* or invincible.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 3[1]

(1) Gold; .75"; 123 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 6.

Obv: Kumāragupta standing in the centre; his folded hands on the chest not clear. The man on the left appears more like arguing with his r. hand than as holding the Garuḍa standard. The legend between the king and the lady, from top to bottom to be read horizontally, *Kumāra*, first two letters being blurred; between the king and the figure on the l., *gupta* to be read from bottom to top. Circular legend, from XII, *Pratapaparapa*.

Rev: Lakshmī seated facing on a double-petalled lotus. Lotus in her l. hand is represented crudely by four dots; buds attached to its stalk, fairly clear. Crescent on r. at top. Legend on r., *Apratagha.*

(Pl. XIV. 1)

(2) Gold; .72"; 121 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 12.

Obv: As above; from XII, *Pratapapara*.

Rev: As above. No crescent on the r. Legend, *Apratighaḥ*. Both the medial *i* stroke and the *visarga* after *gha* are clear.

(Pl. XIV. 2)

(3) Gold; .75"; 120.4 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 10.

Obv: As above; crescent between the head of the king and the lady on the r. Individual latters between III and VII are fairly clear; they can be read as *pra, pu, pu, ra,...pa, pu.*

Rev: As above. Crescent on r. Legend *Apratigha*

(Pl. XIV. 3)

1. The photographs of the coins are slightly enlarged with a view to render the legend legible.

THE LYRIST TYPE

The Lyrist type of Kumāragupta was altogether unknown before the discovery of the Bayana hoard; it also contains only two of its specimens. The type obviously represents an effort to revive the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The obverse shows the king seated on a high-backed couch and playing on a lute placed on his lap, as on the prototype; the legend is also the same, with only a change of the name, viz. *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXIII. 35**). The reverse, however, shows considerable departure from the prototype. It no doubt shows the goddess or queen facing to left. She is, however, seated on a couch like the king on the obverse, and not on a wicker-stool as on the coins of Samudragupta. Her left hand rests on the couch and is not holding a cornucopiæ as on the prototype. The right hand does not hold a *pāśa*, but a flower; the lady is smelling it. The legend *Śrī-Kumāragupta* (**Pl. XXIV. 61**) is on the left and not on the right.

In Hindu iconography, a goddess is not usually shown as sitting on a couch at ease as on the present coin. It appears more probable that the lady is the queen of Kumāragupta, smelling a flower while sitting at ease in the palace hall, perhaps listening to the music of her husband.

We now describe the coin illustrated.

Gold; .75″; 125.3 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 4.

Obv: King, nimbate, wearing earrings, necklace and armlets, sitting on a straight-backed couch (*paryaṅkikā*), two sides of whose back are clearly visible; r. leg folded on the couch; l. leg over the r. one and hanging below. Fingers of the king's r. hand are playing over a four stringed lute placed on the lap; the l. hand is over the lute, its fingers gesticulating appreciation. Legend beginning at I, *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāragupta(ḥ)*. Letters *Kumāra* are under the couch and *gupta* at XI. The first letter is just

behind the king's head above the back of the couch.

Rev: Within dotted border, Goddess (or queen?), with earrings, necklace and bangles, sitting on a couch with straight back. Two sides of the couch, as also its four legs of the *ṭāpdār* design, are clearly visible. R. leg of the goddess is folded under the couch and the l. leg is hanging down in its front. R. hand of the goddess is bent up and holds a flower of long stalk; the l. hand rests on the couch. Legend on the l., *Kumāragupta*. The second and third letters are doubtful, but they can hardly have been any thing other than *ma* and *ra* respectively.

(Pl. XIV. 5)

THE KING-AND-THE-QUEEN TYPE

In his King-and-the-Queen type, which was unknown before the discovery of the Bayana hoard, Kumāragupta is reviving the only known coin-type of Chandragupta I. Only one coin of this type has been found so far. On its obverse, we have the king and the queen standing and facing each other, as on the prototype. The posture of the queen, who is facing right, is exactly similar to that of Kumāradevī; the hands of the two queens are exactly in the same position. The king is facing left. But he is no longer holding a standard in his left hand; this fashion had been given up long ago. His left hand rests on the hip, grasping the hilt of a sword. Like Chandragupta I, he is offering by his right hand a gift to the queen, which in the present specimen can be distinctly made out to be a bunch of flowers. Between the king and the queen there is a crescent, as on some coins of Chandragupta I. On the reverse we have the goddess seated on a lion couchant, as on the prototype. Her left hand resting on waist is empty, the foreign cornucopiæ in the prototype being given up; the right hand holds a lotus with long stalk instead of a noose (*pāśa*). The goddess is slightly reclining to left as on

the reverse of variety B of class II of the Lion-slayer type of the present emperor.[1] The present rare type may be presumed to be later than that variety of the Lion-slayer type.

We now proceed to describe the coin.

(1) Gold; .75″; 126.7 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 14.

Obv: King standing to r., bare-headed and with frizzled hair, wearing coat, *dhotī*, earrings, necklace, wristlets and armlets. The king's l. hand is on the hilt of the sword at his waist and he is offering by the r. hand, bent up, a bunch of flowers to the queen standing to r. facing him. The queen wears earrings, necklace and bangles; her r. hand is on the waist and the l. one is hanging down. Crescent between the king and the queen. Indistinct traces of legend on the r.

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, seated facing, on lion couchant to r., holding a lotus in r. hand bent up, and leaning on the l. hand resting on thigh. The goddess wears earrings, necklace, bangles, armlets and a girdle. The folds of her *sārī* are clearly visible. Dotted border all round. No symbol. Legend on the r. *Śri-Kumāraguptaḥ.* **Pl. XXIV. 61.**

(Pl. XIV. 4)

GARUDA WITH OUT-STRETCHED WINGS TYPE (?)

At Khairtal in Raipur district of M.P., a hoard of 54 gold coins was found in 1948, with the legend *Mahendrāditya* upon them. Earlier, one coin of this type was known to be in the Lucknow Museum, but its provenance was unknown. We shall first describe two coins of this type below. They are struck *repousse* and are blank on reverse.

1. Only the posture of the feet is slightly different. Both the feet are folded up on the present coin; the right one is hanging down on lion-slayer type, class II, variety B; see **Pl. XII. 9.**

(1) Gold; .8″; 20 grains; *J.N.S.I.*, X. Pl. IXB. 1.

Obv: Within dotted border, in the upper half, Garuḍa with out-stretched wings; *chakra* surmounted by crescent on l. and *śaṅkha* on r. Below in the lower half, legend, *Śrīmahendrāditya* (**Pl. XXIV. 64**); with a solitary letter *u* below *ndrā* of *Mahendrāditya*. Cluster of dots behind this *u*.

Rev: Blank.

(**Pl. XIV. 6**)

(2) Gold; .9″; 20 grains; *J.N.S.I.*, X., Pl. IXB. 5.

Obv: As above. Coin is cruder and the letter in the second line is *da*.

Rev: Blank.

(**Pl. XIV. 7**)

The nature and attribution of these pieces is shrouded in mystery. It is not certain that they are coins. Gold coins, so thin and with one side blank, are not very common. Such pieces were current only in South Kośala. Assuming that they were coins, like the similar coins of the Naḷa dynasty, the question of their attribution is not easy to solve. Mr. V. P. Rode[1] and Prof. V. V. Mirashi[2] maintain that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta or for Kumāragupta by rulers of a local dynasty ruling in Raipur. Mr. A. Ghosh has doubted the attribution of these coins to Kumāragupta I.[3] Conclusive evidence is yet not forthcoming to settle the question, but I am inclined to think than these coins were not issued by the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. It may be that Gupta era was occasionally used in South Kośala in some solitary records; but there is no sufficient evidence to show that the province was under Gupta rule. If such was the case, why should this type alone of the Gupta gold coinage be current in the province ? Why should not the Khairtal hoard

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. X, pp. 137-9.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. XI. 108.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, Num. Supp. XLVI. No. 332.

have contained some gold Gupta coins of the ordinary common types like the Archer and the Horseman ones ? Gupta gold coin types were not confined to particular localities; why should coins of this type not be found in big hoards like the Bayana or the Bharsar one ? It is most probable that the coins of this type were issued by king Mahendrāditya of some local dynasty in South Kośala, who borrowed the type from the coin of Prasannamātra. The discovery of a small hoard of 12 coins in the Chanda district of Madhya Pradesh in 1947, which contained 11 coins of king Prasannamātra along with one coin of Mahendrāditya,[1] would tend to support our view that Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra belonged to a local dynasty in South Kośala, holding sway there in the 5th or the 6th century A.D.

Coins of the Khairtal hoard show some solitary letters like *da*, *u* and *śa*; their significance is not known. Prof. V. V. Mirashi has suggested that the coins with the letter *śa* may have been issued by king Śūra and with the letter *da* by king Dayitavarman, who figure among the ancestors of Bhīmasena II of the Arang plates.[2] Mr. N. L. Rao[3] suggests that the letters may be numerals, denoting the regnal years of the issue of the coins, as they do on the coins of Chālukya Chandra of the Eastern Chālukya family. He thinks that *u* may stand for 8 and *ru* for 5, though he is not quite sure as to what *da* may be standing for. But though there is evidence that the practice of giving the regnal years was prevalent in South India in the twelfth century, there is nothing to indicate that it was followed in the Deccan in the 5th or the 6th century A. D.

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1. An account of this hoard is given in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVI, pt. II.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, Pl. XI. 108.
3. In a private letter to Mr. V. P. Rode dated 25-3-1949, a copy of which was kindly sent to me.

CHAPTER IX

SILVER & COPPER COINAGE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

As contrasted with the scanty silver coinage of Chandragupta II, the silver coinage of his son Kumāragupta I is copious, and we can notice several classes and varieties in it. It was no longer confined to the western provinces of the empire. The convenience of having small currency in silver, which would serve as the stepping stone between the insignificant cowries on one side and the costly gold coins on the other, was realised, and the Gupta administration took steps to issue silver coins for use in the Gangetic plain also.

WESTERN INDIAN SILVER COINAGE

The silver coins issued by Kumāragupta I for the use of the Western Provinces continued to be a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype. They hardly differ in general characteristics from the silver coinage of Chandragupta II. Traces of what was once a legible Greek legend occur on some varieties, but are dispensed with on others. The reverse, as a general rule, continues to have the device of Garuḍa, usually with the pellet or group of seven dots in the field. The Kshatrapa device of Hill occurs on no specimens.

We have fairly reliable information about the findspots of the silver coins of Kumārgupta I. The coins of the Western type are usually found in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Valabhi, Morvi, Junagadh, Ahmadabad and Kaira are among the known findspots of these coins. But the findspots of all the coins found in Gujarat and Kathiawar have, however, not been noted with sufficient accuracy to enable us to determine the districts of the different classes and varieties. Sometimes, however, they are found outside Gujarat and Kathiawar.

A big hord of 1395 silver coins of Kumāragupta was found at Samand in Satara district; a small one of 13 pieces was found at Elichpur in Berar. Neither of these places was, however, included in the Gupta empire. The presence of Gupta coins at these places is probably due to their being imported by traders, captains or learned Brāhmaṇas.

Smith divided[1] the coins of the Western type into two varieties, variety A consisting of the coins with the legend *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrāditya*, and variety B, where the title *Mahārājādhirāja* of the above legend was abbreviated into *Rājādhirāja*. While recognising that the local tradition reported by Watson to the effect that Kumāragupta served as a viceroy of Kathiawar under his father was unreliable, Smith still suggested that the coins with the shorter title *Rājādhirāja* may have been issued by him when a viceroy. There is, however, no sufficient difference in the import of the two titles to justify this conjecture. In the Mathurā inscription, dated in G. E. 61,[2] we find that the title *Rājādhirājā* is used for Chandragupta II, even when he was the ruling paramount emperor. Smith has also admitted that the features of the king on the coins with the longer legend are usually younger than those on the coins with the shorter legend,[3] and so it is hardly possible to argue that the latter were issued earlier in the life of Kumāragupta, when he was a viceroy under his father. The coinage by the heir-apparent is unknown to Hindu tradition and so it is difficult to accept Smith's theory in this connection.

The classification of these silver coins by the difference of the title used, as adopted by Smith, is not very scientific. Mr. Allan has classified them according to their fabric; coins of

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 123.
2. *E.I.*, Vol. XXI. p. 8; *Sircar*, p. 269.
3. *I.M.C.*, I, p. 115.

large size are differentiated, from those of the small one, coins of good workmanship from those of indifferent workmanship, and so on. This classification also is not very scientific; for it is difficult to state where exactly careful execution gives way to the careless one. Some of the coins of Class III, which are described by Mr. Allan as of small and thick fabric, are as large as those of Class I, which are described as of thin and large fabric.[1] As however it is not easy to suggest any better method of classification, we propose to follow Mr. Allan in the classification as suggested by him in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*.

We now proceed to describe these coins.

CLASS I

The coins of this class bear the closest resemblance to the silver coinage of Chandragupta II and may be presumed to be their immediate successors, probably issued from the same mint. As, however, the find-spots of the coins are not noted, we cannot identify the mint; but most probably it was in Kathiawar, where the Kshatrapa numismatic influence may be presumed to have been the strongest. Class I of the silver coinage of Skandagupta also shows these features and may have been issued from the same mint or district. The nose, the moustaches and the collar of the bust on the coins of the class are in close imitation of those on the later Kshatrapa coins; see **Pl. XVI. 1-2.** Traces of corrupt Greek letters also make their appearance on the obverse. The date was intended to be given behind the king's bust, where sometimes the word, *varsha* (year) is to be seen. The year, however, is rarely given. The reverse shows Garuḍa, the imperial insignia (*lāñchhana*) of the dynasty. There is a cluster of dots above it to right. The legend is *Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī*

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1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Intro., pp. xciv-xcv. Cf. **Pl. XVII. 10-12.** with **Pl. XVII, 5-6.**

Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ[1] (Pl. XXV. 8).

Four varieties of this class may be distinguished. Coins of variety A are thin and large. Coins of variety B are slightly thicker and smaller and use rounded forms of the letters *ma* and *va*. Variety C, like variety B, is smaller in size than variety A, but it does not use the rounded forms of *ma* and *va*, as does the variety B. On two coins of this variety (*B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Nos. 304-5) the star is stated to be below Garuḍa; these coins, however, are not illustrated in that *Catalogue*. Variety D gives the year of issue behind the head, where we have the word *varsha* followed by a numeral which is taken to be 100. This symbol, however, is not clear. The legend on this variety has a genitive ending. Coins of varieties A and B are common; variety C is known from only three coins, and variety D from a single specimen.

The average size of the coins of variety A is ·6″ and that of the varieties B and C, ·55″. In rare cases the weight is as low as 24·1 grains; but the average weight of all the four varieties is about 30 grains. Several well preserved coins weigh about 33 grains, which seems to have been the intended weight of these pieces. It corresponds to the weight of the Kshatrapa silver coins.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 7

Variety A

(Large size)[2]

(1) Silver; .6″; 29·8 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 1.

Obv: Bust of king to r., with typical Kshatrapa features truncated at the top. Behind the head, above the curly hair, *varsha*.

1. This legend is obviously adapted from that on class I of the silver coinage of Chandragupta II, with the necessary change in name and *biruda*.
2. *B.M.C.*,*G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 1-17; *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, Pl. V. 4-5; *J.R.A.S.*, (O.S.) Vol. XII, Pl. II. 39-42; *P.E.*, Vol. II. Pl. XXXVII, 16-17.

Rev: Garuḍa with out-spread wings; above to r., cluster of seven dots; no Greek letters like O or U below. Circular legend, beginning at III, *Para-(mabhāgavata)maharajadhiraja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.* Last three letters are truncated. Notice how the medial *ī* mark is not shown over *śra*, though there is space for it.

(Pl. XVII. 1)

(2) Silver; .6″; 31.8 grains; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 2.

Obv: As above but bust complete. Only traces of the word *varsha* are visible behind the head; Greek letters in front of king's bust.

Rev: As above. Legend, beginning at III, *Paramabhaga-(vata-maha)rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-mahendradatya.*

(Pl. XVII. 2)

(3) Silver; .6″; 30.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, XVI. 8.

Obv: As above, but bust crude. Six defective Greek letters O, U, I, H, O and U in front of king's face.

Rev: As above, but O and U below the pedestal of Garuḍa. Legend, beginning at IV, *Parmabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.*

(Pl. XVII. 3)

Variety B

(Slightly smaller in size and with round forms of *ma* and *va*)[1]

(4) Silver; .6″; 32 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 18.

Obv: Bust of king as in variety A; O, H, O, H, C, O in its front.

Rev: As in variety A; O and U clearly visible below Garuḍa. Legend, beginning at IV, *[Pa]ramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Kumara[gupta]mahandra[datya].*

(Pl. XVII. 4)

(5) Silver; .55″; 31.6 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 22.

Obv: As above, but bust more complete; no traces of Greek letters.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 18-22.

Rev: Lower portion is partly restruck, traces of the earlier legend being near the rim. Legend beginning at III, *Paramabhagavata*, the rest is truncated.

(**Pl. XVII. 5**)

Variety C

(Resembling variety B, but having angular forms of *ma* and *va*)[1]

(6) Silver; .5″; 35.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 23.

Obv: As above; no traces of Greek letters.

Rev: Legend, from IX, *Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.*

(**Pl. XVII. 6**)

Variety D

(As in variety A, but with date given)[2]

(7) Silver; .55″; 27 grains; *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1923-4, Pl.XLI; p. 124.

Obv: Bust of the king to r.; date behind year; *varsha* 100(?).

Rev: As in var. A. Legend, (*Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja śrī*)*Kumāragupta Mahendrādityasya.*

(**Pl. XVII. 6**; normal size)

(**Pl. XVII. 7**; enlarged)

CLASS II

The coins of this class have no traces of any Greek legend on the obverse; they are irregular in shape, some being even pointed (**Pl. XVII. 9**) and some polygonal (**Pl. XVII. 11**). Bust is very rudely engraved and bears only a faint resemblance to the Kshatrapa prototype. The representation of Garuḍa also is poor; and there is no cluster of dots by its side. Mr. Allan's observation that the coins of this type are somewhat smaller (*B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, xciv) is true of only some coins of this class; others are as large as those of the class I (cf. **Pl. XVII. 8-10**

1. *Ibid*, Pl. XVI. 23.
2. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1923-4, p. 124.

with 1-3). The size here also varies from .5″ to 6′, and the normal weight from 28 to 30 grains. The absence of the Greek letters may perhaps indicate an effort on the part of the mint-masters to eradicate meaningless foreign elements. The type may perhaps have been issued in eastern Mālwā, where the Kshatrapa currency was probably not very common.

Two varieties can be distinguished in this class; variety A where the legend is of class I and variety B, where its opening word is *Bhāgavata*, the word *Parama* being omitted. We shall now describe the coins illustrated.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

Variety A

(With the full legend of class I)[1]

(1) Silver; 55″; 30.9 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*. Pl. XVI. 24.
Obv: Bust of the king; no traces of Greek letters.
Rev: Legend beginning at I, *Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja*; the letters following are blurred. *Ma* of *Parama* is square in form but *ga*, *va* and *ta* are extremely narrow and look almost like vertical lines. There is no star or pellet.

(Pl. XVII. 8)

(2) Silver; .6″; 28.3 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 25.
Obv: As above, but blurred.
Rev: Beginning at I, *Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahendraditya*. No star or pellet.

(Pl. XVII. 9)

Variety B

(Legend beginning with *Bhāgavata*)[2]

(3) Silver; .6″; 26.4 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 28.
Obv: As above.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 24-25.
2. *Ibid*, Pl. XVI. 26-30.

Rev: Legend, beginning at I, *Bhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahendradatya.*
Notice the peculiar size of the coin.
(**Pl. XVII. 10**)

(4) Silver; .55"; 31 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVI. 30.
Obv: As above.
Rev: Legend, beginning at II, *Bhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya. Bhagavata* is blurred and the last letter is denoted almost by a vertical line.
(**Pl. XVII. 11**)

CLASS III

The coins of this class are similar to those of Class I, but they are generally smaller and thicker (cf. **Pl. XVII. 12.** with **XVII. 1-2**). But some pieces are almost as large as those of class I (cf. **Pl. XVII. 13** with **XVII. 4**). The features of the face are more carefully drawn and treatment of the nose sometimes shows marked resemblance with that in class II (cf. **Pl. XVII. 13** with **Pl. XVII. 14**). Like class II, it also omits the pellet from the reverse. This class however differs from class II in preserving the traces of degraded Greek legend on its obverse.

The size and fabric of the coins of this class bear considerable resemblance to the coins of the Traikūṭaka dynasty.[1] Mr. Allan's suggestion that they may have been issued in southern Gujarat, where the Guptas superseded the Traikūṭakas, is a probable one. It must, however, be noted that the findspots of these coins have not been carefully noted and the Gupta records give no evidence of the overthrow of the Traikūṭaka dynasty.

The average size of the coins of this class is .5" and weight about 31 grains. Several coins weigh above 32 grains and one is as heavy as 34.7 grains. The lightest weight is 27.3 grains. Coins are rather irregular in size, some being oblong and some almost pentangular (see **Pl. XVII. 12-13**).

1. *B.M.C., A.K.*, Pl. XVIII. 930-978.

The circular legend begins at various points, sometimes at X or XI, sometimes at III or IV and sometimes at VII or VIII. It ends with *Mahendrādityaḥ*. Smith has noted that it ends with the genitive suffix *sya* in the case of three coins in the British Museum.[1] Mr. Allan's *Catalogue* however does not refer to this ending of the legend, nor is it possible to detect the letter *sya* on the coin illustrated by Smith.[2] We may therefore doubt whether there are really any coins in this class with genitive ending in the legend.

The coins of this class are divided into two varieties, variety A where the legend of the class I appears with the full title *mahārājādhirāja*, and those of variety B where it is abridged into *rājādhirāja*. On a few specimens, however, the legend is defectively engraved and misspells the word *rājādhirājaśrī* as[3] *rajadhaśrī, jadhaśri* and *rajadharaśrī*. (cf. **Pl. XVII. 16**).

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 6

Variety A

(With the title *mahārājadhirāja*)[4]

(1) Silver; .5″; 30.9 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 1.

Obv: Bust of the king to r. with Greek letters both in front and behind.

Rev: Legend (VII), *Paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya,* entirely visible and legible; letters *vata* are however compressed for want of space. No pellet or star in the field.

(Pl. XVII. 12)

(2) Silver; .55″; 30.3 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 4.

Obv: As above, but only faint traces of blurred and truncated Greek letters to r.

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 125. 2. *Ibid*, Pl. IV. 2.
3. *B.M.C., G.D.*, pp. 106-7. See Addenda for a coin where we have a still more defective legend.
4. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 1-7.

Rev: Legend (VIII) *Paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.* Note how *ma* of *Parama* looks like *pta* and *śra* like *ma* due to engraver's carelessness. *Va* looks almost like a vertical with a small knot below and *ma* and *ha* have the eastern forms.

(Pl. XVII. 13)

Variety B

(With the title *rājādharāja*)[1]

(3) Silver; .5″; 33 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 9.

Obv: As in variety A. Remnants of Greek letters both behind and in front of the face.

Rev: Legend (VIII), *Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumāragupta-Mahandradatya.*

(Pl. XVII. 14)

(4) Silver; 55.″; 33 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 12.

Obv: As above; Greek letters behind the bust.

Rev: Legend (III), *Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya. Ku* looks almost like a vertical line owing to pressure for space.

(Pl. XVII. 15)

(5) Silver; .5″; 29.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 30.

Obv: As above.

Rev: Lgend (IV), *Paramabhagavata-rajadhara[ja]-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.*

Notice that the last letter of *rajāradharaja* has been omitted.

(Pl. XVII. 16)

(6) Silver; .5″; 24.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.* Pl. XVII. 28.

Obv: As above. Traces of Greek letters both in front and behind.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 8-31.

Rev: Legend(III), *Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya.* Notice how the medial vowel of *Ku* and the subscript of *ndra,* coming very close to the attenuated body of Garuḍa, represented by a mere vertical, produce the impression of the head of a trident.

(Pl. XVII. 17)

CLASS IV

(Trident on the reverse)

As the type is so far known from only one specimen, we shall first describe it fully.

(7) Silver; .6"; weight not recorded; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII (1862). Pl. facing p. 3, No. 11.

Obv: Head of the king to r.; faint traces of the lower ends of Greek letters.

Rev: Trident with two ornamental loops below the prong on either side. Circular legend (beginning at V with reference to the trident), *Paramabhāgavata-(rājādhīrāja ?)-śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrasya.*

(Pl. XVII. 20)

Only one coin of this type has been found and its weight has not been recorded. The reading *māragupta* is certain from X and the long tailed vertical of the preceding letter shows that it was most probably *ku.* The coin is, therefore, undoubtedly an issue of Kumārgupta I. The trident on the reverse is quite distinct, and it is much more elaborate than that on the so-called Valabhi coins.[2] Mr. Allan, while admitting that the legend does contain the name of Kumāragupta, is inclined to think that the type does not exist;[3] he is unable to understand how only a single specimen of this type should have been preserved when scores of specimens

1. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII. (1862), Pl. facing p. 3, No. 11.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XV., Pl. II. 8.
3. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Intr., p. xevi.

of the other types of this ruler have been found. He thinks that the reverse of this type was really Garuḍa, which on some coins does resemble a trident, and conjectures that this resemblance was considerably accentuated by the draughtsman, who drew the figure for Justice Newton's plate published in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII. p. 3.

There is no doubt that Garuḍa when rudely executed does bear some resemblance to a small trident; cf **XVI. 3, XVII. 17**; and this resemblance is accentuated and the trident begins to appear to be having ornamental loops also, if the letters *Guptamahendra* are just above the bird; this can be clearly seen from a coin published by Cunningham and reproduced here, (**Pl. XVII. 21**). The same is the case with the trident described as existing on the reverse of another coin of Kumāragupta illustrated by Prinsep in *J.A.S.B.*, 1838, Pl. XII, 16 and p. 356. On a coin in *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, already reproduced (**Pl. XVII. 17**). the medial vowel of *Ku* and the subscript of *ndra* appear as the prongs of the trident and the the attenuated wings of the bird as its ornamental loops. But the trident on Newton's coin is a large and distinct one; and no draughtsman could have introduced the two ornamental loops on its either side, unless they were there in the original. It may be pointed out that the letters *Guptamahendra* are not just above the head of the trident on Newton's coin to produce the illusion of the loops, as they are on that of Cunningham (**Pl. XVII. 21**). It is further to be noted that the coin was actually in possession of Newton and that he was describing it not from the drawing but from the original piece. He could have immediately detected the blunder of the draughtsman, had he mistaken Garuḍa for a trident. He goes on further to observe how the unique piece bears a close resemblance both to the coins of the Kshatrapas as well as to those of Bhaṭṭāraka, who started the Valabhi type with

1. *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, Pl. V, 5.

trident on the reverse. He would not have commented upon this two-fold resemblance, had he not been sure about the existence of the trident on the coin that was in his actual possession.

I have already shown elsewhere how the so-called Valabhi type with trident on the reverse was probably started in *c.* 360 A.D. by Bhaṭṭāraka duriug the interregnum in the reign of Rudrasiṁha III.[1] It was therefore quite possible for Kumāragupta to imitate that coin type. It is not unlikely that we may discover further coins of his of the Trident type.

CLASS V

MADHYADEŚA TYPE

Class IV of the silver coinage of Kumāragupta consists of the issues intended for circulation in the Gangetic plain or Madhyadeśa. This type shows many striking variations from the Western Indian type. The size and the weight are nearly the same in both the cases; the obverse continues to have the bust of the king and the reverse a bird with a circular legend around it. But there are several points of striking difference.

(1) The face on the obverse is in most cases not an imitation of the Kshatrapa head; (cf. **Pl. XVII. 1-17** with **22-28**) Prominent nose and long moustaches disappear. The king's nose is flat and almost in a line with the forehead. The hair behind the head is, however, still shown as falling in the Kshatrapa fashion. It has been suggested that the Madhyadeśa coins seek to give a portrait of the emperor.[2] This may perhaps be true in the case of Kumāragupta I, but it has to be admitted that the features of Skandagupta on the Madhyadeśa silver currency are closely similar to those of Kumāragupta I (cf. **Pl. XVIII. 19-22**). Effort at portraiture, if attempted in the reign of Kumāragupta, was given up later, unless we assume that the features of Skandagupta closely resembled those of his father.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VI. p. 19.
2. Allan, *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. xcv.

On a few rare coins, however (**Pl. XVII. 28**), we see a combination of the Kshatrapa bust on the obverse with fan-tailed peacock on the reverse. Such coins are, however, very rare.

(2) The meaningless traces of the unintelligible Greek legend never appear on the Madhyadeśa coins; they are usually to be seen on most of the issues of Western India with the exception of two varieties.

(3) The date on the coins of the Western type, when given, is *behind* the king's head; it is *in its front* on the Madhyedeśa coins. Numerical symbols used are also different (cf. **Pl. XVII. 1** with **Pl. XVII. 22-3.**

(4) Garuḍa, the reverse device of the Western type, is replaced by Fan-tailed Peacock on the Madhyadeśa coins. If the representation of Garuḍa had a significant reference to the heraldic emblem of the Gupta dynasty, that of Peacock alluded to god Kumāra or Kārtikeya, whose mount was that bird; it was after this deity Kumāragupta, the issuer, was named.

(5) The legend on the Madhyadeśa type is also different. On the Western issues it was a prose sentence *Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*;[1] on the Madhyadeśa coins it was a metrieal line, *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati* (**Pl. XXI. 20**), borrowed from the gold Archer type of this emperor. This legend, with only the change of the issuer's name, was destined to be current for two hundred years in Madhyadeśa; for it was later adopted by Skandagupta, Budhagupta, Toramāṇa, all Maukhari kings, Pratāpaśīla and Harshavardhana.

(6) There is no palæographical difference in the scripts used. But it is worth noting that the marks of medial vowels, which are usually shown very carefully on the Madhyadeśa coins (cf. **Pl. XVII. 22-25**), are never engraved on the dies of the

1. It is slightly abridged on the Altar type of Skandagupta by the omission of the term *Mahārājādhirāja*, necessitated by the smaller size of the coins. *Mahārājādhirāja* is abridged into *Rājādhirāja* on one variety of Kumāragupta himself; see class III, var. B, p. 225.

Western type, even when there was ample room to accommodate them (cf. **Pl. XVII. 3-4**).

The average size of the normal coins of this type varies between .55″ and .6″ and the weight between 29 and 31 grains. *B.M.C.* No. 396, however, weighs 36.5 grains and No. 398, 25.6 grains only. These are exceptional pieces, as far as their weights are concerned.

The dates of issue, so far noted on these coins, are 122, 124, 128, 129, 130, 135, of the Gupta era corresponding to 440, 443, 447, 448, 449 and 454 A. D. They would suggest that the silver currency was introduced in the home provinces rather late in the reign of the emperor.

The coins of the Madhyadeśa type are common in the Uttara Pradesh. They were obtained at Saharanpur, Mathurā, Kanpur, Banaras and Ayodhyā. Curiously enough they have been so far rarely found in Bihar, the home province of the Gupta empire, nor in Bengal, which continued under the Gupta sway even during the decline of the dynasty. It is not easy to explain this absence.

Madhyadeśa type is divided into five varieties. In variety A, there is on the reverse an uncertarin object on left which is probably the conventional representation of a lotus. In variety B, this object is represented by three dots. In variety C, the field is empty. Variety D is like variety A, but has the peculiar feature of leaving a clear margin between the border of dots and the circular legend. The bust on the reverse is of the Kshatrapa type.

We now proceed to describe the coins of these varieties, illustrated in our work.

CLASS VI

Variety A

(With a conventional lotus in the field)[1]

(1) Sliver; .65″; 31.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 1.

Obv: Bust of the king to r. with flat nose and no mousta-

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 1-5.



ches; no traces of Greek letters; in front of the face, the date, 100, 30. 5.

Rev: Peacock standing facing with head to l., wings outstretched; an uncertain object, probably a conventional lotus, in the field on l. Border of dots partly on the flan. Legend (XII), *Vijatavanaravanapata* (*Kumāragu*)*pto divaṁ jayata.*

(Pl. XVII. 22)

(2) Silver; .55″; 31.3 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 3.

Obv: As above. Date, partly preserved, (100), 20, 2.

Rev: As above. Legend, (XII), *Vijitavaniravanipati* (*Kumāragupto divam*) *jayata*. Lotus (?) in the field.

(Pl. XVII. 23)

Variety B

(With three dots in the field)[1]

(3) Silver; .55″; 31.1 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 7.

Obv: As above, but no traces of date.

Rev: Legend (XII) *Vajatavanaravanapa*(*ti Kumā*)*ragupto diva jayati*. Three dots in the lower field on the l.

(Pl. XVII. 24)

Variety C

(With field empty)[2]

(4) Silver; .55″; 32.1 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 12.

Obv: As above; slight traces of date on r.

Rev: Legend (XII) *Vajatavanaravanapati Kumaragupto dava jayati*. Field empty.

(Pl. XVII. 25)

Variety D

(With margin between the circular legend and border of dots)

(5) Silver; .55″; 27.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 15.

Obv: Bust of the king to r., showing moustaches as in the Kshatrapa type.

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1. *B.M.C, G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 6-7.
2. *Ibid.* Pl. XVIII. 9-14.

Rev: As in variety A; legend (XI), *Vajatavanaravannapata Kumaragupta dava jayata.*

(Pl. XVII. 26)

CLASS VII

SILVER-PLATED COINS OF WESTERN TYPE

A large number of copper coins of Kumāragupta I have been found near Valabhi (Wala) in Kathiawar, which have a very crude head of the king on the obverse and Garuḍa with circular legend on the reverse. These coins are smallcr in size than the silver pieces, their diameter varying from .35″ to .45″. The highest known weight is 35.2 grains and the lowest one is 22.6 grains; the normal weight seems to be about 29 grains. Traces of silver plating are still clearly discernible on many of these coins, and so there can be no doubt that they were copper coins plated with silver and intended to pass off as silver currency. Towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta, the Gupta empire was passing through a grave crisis, which must have depleted the treasury, necessitating the issue of debased currency. We illustrate below two coins of this type.

(1) Copper, silver-coated; .45″; 30·4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 16.

Obv: Crude head of the king to r., in front, Grcek letters H, O.

Rev: Crude Garuḍa. Legend (IV) *Paramabhagavatarajadharaja.*

(Pl. XVII. 18)

(2) Copper, silver-coated; .45″; 28.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XVIII. 23.

Obv: Bust of the king partly truncated.

Rev: As above. Legend, IV *[Para]mabhagavata-rajadharajaśra-Kumaragupta.*

(Pl. XVII. 19)

CLASS VIII

SILVER-PLATED COINS OF MADHYADEŚA TYPE

The plated coins of the Madhyadeśa type are relatively much rarer than those of the Western types. The British Museum possesses only one specimen (No. 402), which is a thin broad piece, being 22.8 grains in weight and .6″ in diameter. But this coin is not purely of the Madhydeśa type, as the features of its bust are Western Indian, though its reverse shows the fan-tailed peacock. Two coins of this type were found at Kanauj. The solitary copper coin of the fan-tail peacock type existing in the Indian Museum is probably one of them.[1] Two coins were found at Sanchankot in Unao district, which are now in the State Museum, Lucknow.[2] They do not appear to have been published. Smith had acquired one specimen at Jais in Rai Bareily distirct, which had no traces left of silver-plating.[3] The Banaras Hindu University coin cabinet possesses one coin of this type, purchased from a Lucknow dealer and therefore probably obtained in U.P. The whole of its reverse has the entire silver coating; it has been washed away only from the upper quarter of the obverse.

We now describe two coins of this type.

(1) Copper, silver-coated; .6″; 22-8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*; Pl. XVIII. 14.

Obv: Crude bust of the king to r, imitating the Kshatrapa type.

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock; legend XII *[vijitā]vanaravanipati Kumāra[gupta]dava jaya[ta]*.

(Pl. XVII. 28)

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1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 138. The *Catalogue* of the Museum, however, refers to only one of these two coins, (p. 116); what has happened to the other is not known.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 175.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 138.

(2) Copper, silver-plated; .55″; 29.5 grains; Banaras Hindu University, Banaras; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII. p. 76.

Obv: Bust of the king to r.; date in front 100,30 (?). Notice how the silver coating has gone off in part of the upper portion, which appears black in colour in the plate.

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock; circular legend, [*Vi*]*jitavanira-vanipati Kumaragupto davam jaya*(*ti*).

(Pl. XVII. 27)

COPPER COINS OF THE SILVER TYPE (?)

Dr. Buhler, who had collected a very large number of copper Gupta coins closely resembling the silver issues in and around Valabhi, thought that those coins were real copper pieces, issued not by the Guptas, but some later rulers who succeeded them at Valabhi.[1] The manufacture of copper coins, however, was such a tedious and unprofitable process in ancient India that it is very unlikely that they could ever have been issued in so large a quantity by some petty local dynasties in Kathiawar or by private moneyers, Even governments were reluctant to take the trouble of minting them. Smith is therefore right in maintaining that they must have been issued by some public authority and must have served as an authorised coinage.[2]

While admitting that some of these coins were originally silver-plated pieces, Smith maintained that the vast majority of them represented a genuine copper currency exactly identical in weight, size, devices and legend with the silver one. Mr. Allan does not agree with this view and holds that all the coins, now appearing as copper, were originally silver-plated pieces intended to pass as silver coins.[3] We hold the same view and have therefore described these coins as class VII of the silver currency (p. 232).

1, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 138.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

3. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Introduction, p. xcvii.

The usual practice prevalent in ancient India was to have different types and devices for the gold, silver and copper currencies. The Guptas usually followed this convention and it is very unlikely that they would have departed form it in the reigns of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. It would have been particularly unwise and inadvisable for them to issue copper coins exactly resembling the silver type. Owing to financial stringency they had started issuing silver-plated copper coins intended to pass for silver. Had they simultaneously started issuing copper currency also of the same type, there was the danger of their financial fraud being suspected and detected by the public.

Nor was there any well-established practice in Gujarat and Kathiawar of issuing coins of the same type both in silver and copper. After carefully investigating the available evidence Smith could come across only a single copper coin of Chashṭana, which was an exact copy of his silver type.[1] It is, however, not unlikely that this so-called copper coin may also have been originally a silver-plated coin with all its silver coating washed off. A silver-plated coin of Chashṭana, exactly resembling his silver type, has been recently found.[2] Nahapāṇa, who was a near predecessor of Chashṭana, had issued some plated coins exactly resembling his silver pieces[3] and Chashṭana, who had to struggle hard to establish the power of his house, did the same.

But even supposing that Chashṭana had issued some copper pieces exactly imitating his silver issues, it is very unlikely that the Guptas would have imitated his example. All the successors of Chashṭana were in the habit of generally selecting a different type for their copper currency and it is very unlikely that Kumāragupta would have been influen-

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, pp. 137-44. This coin has not been referred to by Rapson in his *B.M.C.*, *A.K.*, p. cviii or in Pl. IX.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XV. p. 98.
3. Bhagwanlal possessed one such coin; *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 643.

ced by the practice of a ruler who flourished three hundred years before his time, and not by the uniform practice of the latter's numerous successors. Administrative prudence required that nothing should be done which wouldhave raised the least suspicion about the real nature of the silver-plated issues, and this circumstance alone would have prevented the Gupta mint authorities from sanctioning a type in copper exactly resembling the silver one.

COPPER COINS OF KUMARAGUPTA I

As shown above, while considering the copper coinage of Kumāragupta I, we have to leave out of consideration the large number of small coins found in Kathiawar, which now undoubtedly appear as copper pieces, but which were originally silver-plated coins. Genuine copper coins of Kumāragupta are very scarce. The Indian Museum has one coin of the Altar type and the St. Petersberg (Leningrad) Museum has another of the same type. The British Museum has got no copper coins. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has one coin of the Chhatra type and one of the Archer type; and the Bodleian collection has one coin of the Standing king type.

We now proceed to describe these coins.

CLASS I

CHHATRA TYPE[1]

This type is almost an exact copy of the class I of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II; only its legend on the reverse is in two lines instead of one. The letters *ma* and *ha* are of the eastern variety. Only one coin of this type is known so far, and it is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

(1) Copper; 1″; 84 grains; Prince of Wales Museum; *J.N.S.I.*, XI., Pl. I. 14.

Obv: King, not nimbate, standing three-fourths to l., with an umbrella-bearer, blurred, behind him. The staff of the umbrella can be seen at X.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI. p. 56.

Rev: In upper half, Garuḍa with outstretched wings; in the lower half legend in two lines; Ist line, *Mahārāja-śra-Kumā*, 2nd line, *ragupta*, last letter being partly visible.

(Pl. XVIII. 1)

CLASS II

THE ARCHER TYPE[1]

This type is known from a single specimen in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is considerably blurred, but the outlines show that most probably the king was holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right.

(2) Copper; .6″; 58 grains; Prince of Wales Museum.

Obv: Blurred; king standing to l; holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. No legend.

Rev: In the upper half, Garuḍa, blurred; in the lower half, in one line, *Śra-Kumāragu(ptaḥ)*.

(Pl. XVIII 2)

CLASS III

STANDING KING TYPE[2]

This type is also known from a single specimen in the Bodleian collection. It was obtained by Tregear probably from Ayodhyā. The medial *ā* of *mā* is shown by a perpendicular line attached to the letter as in modern Devanāgarī.

(3) Copper; .7″; weight not recorded; Bodleian collection; *N.C.* 1891, Pl. II. 15.

Obv: King standing wearing waist-cloth and jewelry, left hand on hip; r. hand apparently offering oblations on an altar.

Rev: In the upper half, Garuḍa standing facing, with outstreched wings; in the lower half, the legend, *Kumāragu[pta]*.

(Pl. XVIII. 3)

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 56.
2. *Num. Chr.*, 1891, Pl. II, p. 15; *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 113; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 143.

CLASS IV

ALTAR TYPE[1]

Only three coins of this type are known; one in the Indian Museum, the second in St. Petersberg (Leningrad) Museum and the third was published by Smith[2] as a Hūṇa coin, as he wrongly read the legend as *Śrī-To*. The object on the obverse above the legend is described by us as an altar; but it is possible to regard it as a degraded representation of Garuḍa as well; for it also, when crude, looks like an altar. Smith thinks that the goddess on the reverse is seated cross-legged on a stool; Mr. Allan holds that she is seated on a lion couchant to r. The object is so crude and ill-defined that neither conjecture can be regarded as certain. On the coin in the Leningrad Museum the goddess seems to be holding some indistinct object in her r. hand; it may be a lotus with a stalk.

There were two Kumāraguptas, whose rule was separated from each other only by about seventeen years. It is therefore not easy to state with certainty whether the coins of this class were not issued by Kumāragupta II. In favour of the view that they are the coins of Kumāragupta I, it may be pointed out that on some gold coins of this ruler his name is abbreviated into *Ku* as on the present coins. Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta, who ruled between the deaths of Kumāragupta I and Kumāragupta II, did not issue any copper coins and it is very unlikely that Kumāragupta II may have, during his short and troubled reign, thought of reviving the copper coinage, which was never widely prevalent. The crudeness of the pieces need not necessarily be an argument in favour of Kumāragupta II; during the concluding years of the reign of Kumāragupta I, the empire was very rudely shaken and mints were issuing very crude silver-plated coins in Western India.

1. *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XVIII, 25-26; *I.M.C.*, I., p. 121, Pl. XVII. 2.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 96, No. of the plate.

On the other hand we to have to note that Kumāragupta II also abridged his name into a mere *Ku* on his gold coins, as we find on the disputed copper pieces. One of them was found with with Hūṇa coins in the Punjab, suggesting that the issuer may be Kumāragupta II rather than Kumāragupta I. The peculiar altar-like object appears first on the silver coins of Skandagupta and it would be but natural to presume that the copper coins which imitate it are later than that ruler; they may be, therefore, attributed to Kumāragupta II, rather than to Kumāragupta I.

The question is, therefore, difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge. It however appears more likely that the disputed coins are the issues of Kumāragupta I. Skandagupta's silver coins may well have imitated the altar-like object from his predecessor's copper type, and as the reign of Kumāragupta I was separated from that of Kumāragupta II only by 16 or 17 years, it is quite possible that some of the coins of the former may have travelled to the Punjab with he Hūṇa invaders, when they were driven back to that province by the Crown-prince Skandagupta.

We now describe the two coins illustrated here.

(4) Copper; .65″; weight not known; *I.M.*C., Pl.XVII.9.

Obv: Within dotted border, altar above; and the legend *Śra-Ku* below.

Rev: Goddess seated on an indistinct object, holding apparently lotus with long stalk in l. hand; an indistinct object in r.; no legend.

(Pl. XVIII. 4)

(5) Copper; ·65; weight not known, St. Petersberg (Leningrad) Museum; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XVII. 26.

Obv: As above, but altar truncated above.

Rea: As above, but the object in the l. hand of the goddess is off the flan. In her r. hand she is holding apparently a lotus stalk with flower.

(Pl. XVIII. 5)

CHAPTER X

THE COINAGE OF SKANDAGUPTA

(1) GOLD COINAGE

Gold coinage of the three great Gupta emperors Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, shows a pleasing and surprising variety. The crave for numismatic variety, however, comes to an end with the accession of Skandgupta. He issued gold coins certainly in three and perhaps in four types; none of them, however, can be described as new. His successors confined themselves to one type only; most of them had short reigns and lived in troubled times. Skandagupta at the beginning of his reign had to spend a night on bare ground, while trying to retrieve the declining fortunes of his family. He was eventually successful in re-establishing the prestige of his house; but it appears that he was too much occupied with the weighty affairs of state to find the necessary leisure to think of any new types for his coinage.

The tendency to increase the weight standard of gold coins continued in the reign of Skandagupta. His father had issued largest number of coins to the standard of about 127 grains, though he had issued some coins weighing as high as 130 grains. In the reign of Skandagupata 132 grains standard became the prevailing standard in the King and Lakshmī type, Chhatra type and the smaller variety of the Archer type. He, however, issued one variety of the Archer type, which is naturally larger in size, to the weight standard to about 144 grains. His Horseman type also weighs 140·5 grains. It appears that these were intended to conform to the *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *rattis* or 144 grains. Cunningham had stated that these heavy weight coins were heavily adulterated; what was apparently given in weight was taken

away by adding heavy dross to the metal. Recent assaying of the gold coins of Skandagupta in the British Museum done by the mint authorities has, however, shown that the heavier coins of Skandagupta do not contain any greater percentage of alloy than that in his lighter variety. As a matter of fact coin No. 417 of the *B.M.C.* of the lighter weight standard was found to contain an alloy of 26% and coin No. 428 of the same Museum of the heavy weight standard was seen to have an alloy of only 22%.[1] It appears that the financial strain on the resources of the empire was responsible for this deterioration in the purity of the coinage. The coins of the early Gupta emperors usually contain an alloy of about 10% only.

It may be convenient to give here in a tabular form the gold contents of some of the representative types of gold coins of the later Gupta rulers, as recently ascertained by the authorities of the British Museum.

King	Type.	B.M.C. No.	Gold contents
Skandagupta	King and Lakshmī type	423	72%
,,	Archer type (132 gr. standard).	417	74%
,,	Archer type (144 gr. standard)	428	78%
Narasiṁhagupta	Good fabric	560	71%
,,	Rude fabric	565	54%
Kumāragupta II	Good fabric	571	79%
,,	Rude fabric	576	54%
Budhagupta	Class II, without king's name	550	77%
Vishṇugupta.	Archer type	598	43%
Vainyagupta	Archer type	589	73%
Prakāśāditya	Horseman-Lion-slayer type.	552	77%

1. B.P. Sinha in *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 24.

King	Type	B.M.C. No.	Gold contents
Jayagupta[1]	Archer type	614	34%
Saśāṅka[1]	Śiva and Bull type	608	58%
,,	,,	611	10%

No. 611 of Śaśāṅka is a copper coin plated with silver, having probably a thin gold coating at one time.

THE ARCHER TYPE

The most popular type of Skandagupta was the Archer type, as was also the case with his grand-father. But his Archer type hardly shows any variety on the obverse, either in the position of the king or in the way in which he holds the bow or in the manner in which the name of the king is written in the field. The king is in coat and trousers, and not in *dhoti*, always faces left, and holds the bow in the left hand at the top and the arrow in the right. His name *Skanda* is always written perpendicularly under the left arm, never between the bow and the bowstring or outside the string. We can, however, classify the coins into two varieties, mainly by the weight standard. Coins of the variety A follow the weight standard or 132 grains and those of the variety B of 144 grains. The latter naturally look larger than the former.

The circular legends of both the varieties are not yet completely deciphered; that in the variety A (**Pl. XIV. 8**) seems to be *Jayati mahītalaṁ* (*Skandaguptaḥ*)[2] *sudhanvī*.[3] In variety B the legend

1. Jayagupta and Saśāṅka are included in the above list only for the sake of convenience and comparison. They were not Gupta kings of the Imperial family.
2. This portion is not clear on any specimen, but Mr. Allan has pointed out that fragments visible beside the arrow in *B.M.C.*, Pl. XIX. 6-8 suggest *Skandagupta*. In all probability this legend is on the pattern of his father's *Jayati mahītalaṁ Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*, known on his archer type class III, Variety C (*ante* p. 172).
3. The letter *nvī* is usually written between Garuḍa and the head of the king.

was probably *Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ śrī-Kramādityaḥ.*[1] 'The king Kramāditya. the benefactor of others, wins the heaven.' The metre would be Upagīti. It must be, however, added that the word *rājā* is not clear on any specimen (*e.g.* **Pl. XIV. 9-11**) and on some coins, the letter after *Parahita* seems to have been a conjuct (**Pl. XIV. 9**). Smith states that on one coin of this class belonging to Mr. Barstow, the obverse legend contained the word *Vikrama.*[2] He has not however illustrated the coin. His view that the legend on this variety was *Paramavikrama-śrī-Skandaguptadeva* does not seem to be correct. The reverse legend in variety A is *Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ*, that in variety B, *Kramādityaḥ.*

No detailed description of the type is further necessary.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

Variety A

(132 grains standard with *Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ* on the reverse.)[3]

(1) Gold; .75″; 130.2 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 2. (Obv.); *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 5. (Rev.)

Obv: Skandagupta, standing l., bare-headed wearing coat, trousers and boots, necklace, earrings etc., holding bow at the top in l. hand with string inwards and arrow in the r.; Garuḍa standard with fillet behind the r. hand. Under the l. arm *Skanda*; circular legend, from I, *Jayata* (*mahītalaṁ*), at X *sudhanvī.*

Rev: Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding noose in outstretched r. hand and a lotus in the l., resting on knee. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Śrī-Skandagupta.*

(**Pl. XIV. 8**)

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 125.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 125.
3. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 1-5; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. III. 7.

Variety B

(144 grains standard with *Kramāditya* on the reverse)[1]

(2) Gold; .85″; 142.8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 11.

Obv: As above. Circular legend, from I, *Parama*(?) *ta;* the letter following looks like a *jihvāmūlīya*, with *ka* attached to it; the next letter looks like a *pra* or *bu*; blurred traces of the legend on l.

Rev: As above. Legend, *Kramāditya*.

(Pl. XIV. 9).

(3) Gold; .8″; weight unknown; *B.M.C., G.D* , Pl. XIX. 14 (from cast).

Obv: As above, but the opening five letters of the legend clearly read as *Parahataka*, standing for *Parahitakā-[rī]*.

Rev: As above. Noose off the flan. Legend, *Kramāditya*. Notice how *da* looks like *ma* or *ja*.

(Pl. XIV. 10)

(4) Gold; .9″; 138.7 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 13.

Obv: As above. Circular legend from (I), *Parahitakārī*; the following two letters are blurred, but do not appear to have been *rājā*.

(Pl. XIV. 11)

Rev: As above.

KING AND LAKSHMĪ TYPE

The nomenclature of the King and Lakshmī type has given rise to a controversy. The legend on the obverse has not been well preserved and the object in the hand of the lady is not distinct. So the interpretation of this type has given rise to two views. V. A. Smith first described the type as the King and the Queen type on the analogy of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I.[2] Mr. Allan suggested

1 *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 10-15; XX. 1-2; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, III. 8.

2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 110; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, i. p. 199.

later that the type can be better described as the King and Lakshmī type.[1] Mr. Jagannath[2] have recently argued in favour of the earlier view of Smith.

It is difficult to decide definitely in favour of one of these views in preference to the other. But it appears more probable that the lady is intended to stand for Lakshmī rather than the queen. It is true that she is not nimbate, but Lakshmī appears without a halo on several Gupta coins[3] (*e.g.* **Pl. IV. 13; Pl. V. 1-2, 5**, etc).

If the personages on the obverse were the king and the queen, their names would have been given there as on the coins of Chandragupta I.[4] Such is not the case. The view of Smith that the letter near the king's head *Ska* is standing for *Skanda* and that the letters near the lady's head were perhaps *priyā* forming part of the queen's name is untenable.[5] The former letter is clearly *nva* of the word *sudhanvī*; *Priyā* cannot be read with certainty near the lady's head on any specimen. It may be further pointed out that on the King-and-Queen type of Chandragupta I and Kumāragupta I, the king is always on the right and the queen on the left, and it is the former who is offering a present to the latter. On the present type of Skandagupta, he occupies the place on the left and it is the lady who is offering him some object, to which he is looking with intense interest and curiosity. The recipient is generally inferior in status, as is also shown by the Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta II. The lady being superior in status should therefore be presumed to be a goddess, *viz*. Lakshmī. It is possible to argue that Lakshmī having been shown on

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, pp. xcviii-c.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, VIII. pp. 48-51.
3. See also, *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. VII. 10. 13-16; 19; Pl. XII. 11-12.
4. The die of the solitary coin of the King-and-Queen type of Kumāragupta I probably had the names of the royal couple; they may not have come on the flan.
5. *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, i, p. 170.

the reverse, her appearance again on the obverse is superfluous. The king's expression is not one of humility and devotion and so the personage before him, who has no halo, can hardly be Lakshmī. On the whole, however, it appears more probable that this type is intended to illustratrate graphically the poetic idea of Skandagupta being chosen as her lord by the goddess Lakshmī, which we find expressed in his Bhitari inscription. Ladies of fashion no doubt often held a lotus in their hand, but that would not stand in the way of our identifying the lady here with Lakshmī. The Garuḍa standard in the centre and the bow and arrow in the king's hands would probably suggest that the scene is one of the battlefield and that the mint-master intended to give a visual representation of the goddess Jaya-Lakshmī making her appearance on the battle-field and offering him some object indicative of success and sovereignty,—possibly *paṭṭabandha* or diadem.

The mystery of this type can be solved only by our getting better specimens, which will enable us to read the circular legend and identify the object in the lady's hand.

We shall now deseribe the type.

Obv: On l. king bare-headed with curly hair, standing facing r., wearing waist-cloth and usual jewelry, holding by l. hand bow by the middle with string outside; r. hand rests on hip holding an arrow; on r. goddess Lakshmī facing l., not nimbate, wearing usual jewelry; behind her a lotus with a long stalk in her l. hand; she holds up some uncertain object in her r. hand at which the king is looking with great curiosity. Garuḍa standard between the king and the goddess, parallel and just next to the bow-string. Legend is uncertain; it begins with *Jayati* and ends with the letter *nva* in front of the forehead of the king. It may have been the same as in the Archer

type, variety A, *Jayati mahītalaṁ*....[1] *sudhanvi(ī)*. (**Pl. XXV. 11**).

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated on lotus, facing to front holding noose in r. hand and lotus in l. resting on the l. knee. Symbol on the l. Legend, *Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXVI. 24**).

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(1) Gold; .75″; weight not known; Bibl. Nat.; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 9.

Obv: As above. The object being presented to the king is uncertain; it may be the end of a diadem. The circular legend is uncertain, but traces of *ya* appear on the queen's head; *nvī* between the head of the king and Garuḍa.

Rev: As in the general description. Legend, *Śrī-Skandagupta.*

(**Pl. XIV. 12**)

(2) Gold; .75″; 128.8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XIX. 6.

Obv: As above. Faint traces of *Jaya* above the head of the goddess.

Rev: As above.

(**Pl. XIV. 13**)

CHHATTRA TYPE

Only one coin of the Chhattra type of Skandagupta is known so far and it was found in the Bayana hoard. It is however possible that this type of Skandagupta may not have been quite rare; for among the two hundred and odd coins of the hoard, that were melted down by the villagers, it is quite possible that some coins of this type might have shared that fate; they must naturally have been at the top of

1. To judge from the scanty remains of the intervening letters, they should have been *Skandaguptaḥ*; the metre also will support this restoration.

the pot, as Skandagupta was the reigning emperor when the hoard was buried.

The circular legend on the obverse is incomplete and does not give the name of the king. But the reverse *biruda Kramāditya*, shows that the issuer is most probably Skandagupta. There is ample empty space before the letter *kra* of *Kramāditya*; we cannot therefore argue that the reverse legend may have been *Vikramāditya* and therefore the issuer may have been Chandragupta II. Kumāragupta I cannot be the issuer of this type, because he never bore the title *Kramāditya*. On the other hend, we have seen above how Skandagupta uses the *biruda Kramāditya* on variety B of the coins of the Archer type. It is therefore most probable that this Chhatra type was issued by Skandagupta. We say most probably, because there is some evidence to show that Ghaṭotkacha, who was perhaps a brother of Skandagupta, also bore this same epithet. If we are correct in atttibuting to him the solitary Archer type coin in the Leningrad Museum, which bears the name *Ghaṭo* on the obverse, its reverse bears the *biruda Kramāditya*. Ghaṭotkacha, however, is not so far known to have contested the throne with his brother Skandagupta. If therefore he had ascended the throne and issued any coins, it must have been after the death of Skandagupta. His coins therefore are not likely to have been included in the Bayana hoard. It would be therefore safer to attribute this solitary coin to Skandagupta rather than to Ghaṭotkachagupta.[1]

We now describe the coin.

(1) Gold; .8″; 130 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXXI. 15.

Obv: King, niṃbate. standing to l., wearing necklace and armlets, r. hand extended and in the posture of offering sacrifice, but no altar visible below; l. hand is on the hilt of the sword at the waist. Dwarf

1. For the contrary view of Mr. P. L. Gupta and its criticism, see *J.N.S.I.*, Pl. XIV. pp. 99-102.

attendant behind, holding umbrella. Circular legend, not complete, but beginning with *Vijitāvani*, partly truncated.

Rev: Standing goddess, nimbate, facing l., wearing necklace and armlets, r. hand extended holding a noose, l. hand hanging down but holding a lotus with long stalk. Symbol on the l. Legend on the r., *Kramādityaḥ*.

(**Pl. XIV. 14**)

HORSEMAN TYPE

A coin of the Horseman type in the Bodleian collection weighs 140.5 grains and has the *biruḍa Kramādita*. Smith had read the legend as *Kramajita*, but this reading gives no sense, and the third letter, though blurred, looks more like *da* than *ja*; see **Pl. XIV. 15**; Smith had attributed this coin to Chandragupta II, but this king never bore any epithet other than *Vikrama* or *Vikramāditya*. Whether the standard of 140 grains was current is his reign is very doubtful. It is therefore clear that this coin was not issued by Chandragupta II. *Kramāditya* was a *biruda* of Skandagupta and most probably this type was issued by him. It is true that Ghaṭotkacha also bore this epithet, but is is not certain that he ruled for an appreciable length of time, and therefore it is not likely that he may have issued this Horseman type in addition to the Archer one. Unfortunately the obverse circular legend on this coin is still undeciphered, and we shall have to wait for a better specimen before we can be quite positive about the attribution of this type. Mr. Allan is perhaps indecisive on this point. In his Introduction (p. c) he hesitatingly ascribes this type to Skandagupta but in the body of his *Catalogue*, he does not include this coin among the issues of that ruler.

We now describe the coin below.

Gold; .8″; 140.5 grains; Bodleian Collection; *N.Chr.* 1891, Pl. II. 6.

Obv: King bare-headed, riding on horse to l., not bearing any weapons, sash flowing behind. Circular legend blurred and illegible.

Rev: Goddess seated on wicker stool facing l., holding a noose in r. hand and lotus with long stalk in the l. Blurred symbol on l.; blurred legend on r., *Kramādita.*

(Pl. XIV. 15)

(2) SILVER COINAGE OF SKANDAGUPTA

Skandagupta was the last Gupta emperor to issue silver coins of both the Western and Madhyadeśa types. Epigraphical evidence proves decisively that he continued to exercise sway over Kathiawar through his own viceroys. It is therefore natural that we should get his silver coinage of the Western type in fairly large quantity. He continued the class I of his father and grand-father showing traces of Greek letters. But we have no coins of his corresponding to classes II[1] and III[2] of Kumāragupta I. Mr. Allan has therefore suggested that this circumstance can be explained on the assumption that the districts, where these types were being issued, were probably lost by Skandagupta some time during his reign. There is nothing impossible in his suggestion, but more evidence would be required before it can be accepted. In the first place we do not know where the coins of these two classes were current. The difference between them and those of class I is rather minute, and it may be that the class II with no Greek letters on the obverse, was discontinued by Skandagupta simply because class I, where these letters were mechanically reproduced, was more popular in Western India. It is further not unlikely that the disappearance of these two classes may

1. Coins of this class have no traces of Greek letters on the obverse and no cluster of dots and OU on the reverse.

2. Coins of this class are small and thick and bear close affinity to the Traikūṭaka coinage.

be partly due to the introduction of two new types by Skandagupta, viz., the Bull type and the Altar type. Owing to the absence of any definite information about the precise find-spots of the coins of the differnt classes, it is difficult to accept the view as proved that Skandagupta had lost some districts in Western India, which were the places where classes II and III of the silver coinage of his father were current.

The coins of the Madhyadeśa type of Skandagupta show the same characteristics as those of his father. The features of the bust betray no Kshatrapa influence and the reverse shows fan-tailed peacock, which was first introduced by Kumāragupta. Dates are given in front of the face and in the Gupta era.

We now proceed to describe the different types. We shall first give a general description of each type followed by necessary remarks and then describe the coins illustrated.

SILVER COINS OF WESTERN INDIA

CLASS I

(With Garuḍa reverse)[1]

Obv: Bust of the king to r., as on the silver coins of Chandragupta and Kumāragupta of Class I. Behind the head *varshe* with traces of date. Greek letters like O,U,H, in front of the face.

Rev: Garuḍa standing facing on a wavy line. Cluster of seven dots above to r. O and U, beneath the wavy line; border of dots. Circular legend commencing at II, *Parama*[2]*bhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ* (**Pl. XXV. 13**) 'Overlord of kings, Skandagupta Kramāditya, great devotee of Vishṇu. On some coins, the legend is defective, only *mahara* or *maharajadha* being engraved instead of *mahārādhirāja*.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 3-8.
2. On some coins *ma* assumes the form of three dots; see *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. 121, Nos 443-4. These coins have not been illustrated.

The size of the coins of this class varies between .5″ and .55″ and the weight between 22 and 33 grains. The average weight is about 30 grains.

No definite date has been read on these coins. One coin (**Pl. XVIII. 6**) has the symbol for 100, but the digit following has been but partly preserved.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 3

(1) Silver; ·55″; 27 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 3.

Obv: Bust of the king to r.; no Greek letters on the flan; behind the head *varsha* 100.

Rev: As above described. Legend at III, as given in general description *Kramā*; partly preserved.

(**Pl. XVIII. 6**)

(2) Silver; ·55″; 31.6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 5.

Obv: O, H, O in front of the face. No traces of date.

Rev: As above, but *Skandagupta-Kramaditya* very clear.

(**Pl. XVIII. 7**)

(3) Silver; .5″; 31.2 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 8.

Obv: No traces of Greek letters or date.

Rev: Defective legend (I), *Paramabhagavata-maharaja-śra-Skandagupta-Kramadatya.*

(**Pl. XVIII. 8**)

CLASS II

BULL TYPE

The general description of this type is as follows:-

Obv: Head of the king to r.; no trace of date or Greek letters.

Rev: Nandī (Bull) recumbent to r.; circular legend is defective, but it was intended to be *Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ*. The legend is given on **Pl. XXV. 13.**

The size of the coins of this type varies between ·5″ and .6″ and their weight from 20 to 29 grains. The normal ave-

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 8.
2. *Ibid*, p. 121.

rage weight is about 25 grains. Silver used is considerably adulterated. The title *mahārājādhirāja* is variously contracted into *rājādhirā* or *mahara* or even *ma* on different coins.

The obverse of these coins resembles that of class II of the silver coins of Kumāragupta inasmuch as both the classes have no Greek letters. It is likely that it may have supplanted that class. Bull later became the emblem of the rulers of Valabhi and Mr. Allan has therefore suggested that these coins may have been current in the land round about the Gulf of Cambay. But the Bull was also on the coins of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī and it is also seen to figure on the coins of the Kalachūri ruler Kṛishṇarāja, who ruled in Mālwā in the third quarter of the 6th century and issued a silver currency closely resembling the Bull type of Skandagupta. It is therefore not unlikely that this type may have been current in Mālwā. We have already suggested the possibility of the coins of class II of Kumāragupta's silver coins being current in this region.

The execution of the coins of this type is rather crude, but not quite so crude as that of the Altar type to be presently described.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(1) Silver; .5″; 25.6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*; Pl. XX. 9.

Obv: As described above, but face is partly cut off. No trace of date.

Rev: Bull to r.; legend, from I, *Śra-Skandagapta-Kramada.*

(Pl. XVIII. 9)

(2) Silver; .6″; 24.6 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XX. 12.

Obv: Bust of the king almost entire; no date or Greek letters.

Rev: Legend, (V) *Paramabhagavata-mahāra-śra-Skandagupta-Kramadatya. Bhagavata* is blurred.

(Pl. XVIII. 10)

CLASS III

ALTAR TYPE

The general description of this class is as follows:-

Obv: Bust of king to r.; traces of Greek letters, O, H, U.

Rev: Altar in the centre with three flames rising above it. Circular legend, often defective; *Parama-bhāgavata-śrī-Vikramāditya-Skandaguptaḥ* (**Pl. XXV. 14**) in var. A and *Paramabhāgavata-śrī-Skandaguptaḥ Kramādityaḥ* (**Pl. XXVI. 16**). in Var. B.

The coins of the Altar type of all the varieties are very crudely executed. They have no regular size and can be called neither circular, nor oval nor rectangular. They are mere bits or fragments of metal stamped with devices and the complete legend cannot be seen on any of them. The letters of the legend are, however in high relief and easily legible, though they are carelessly engraved. The size varies between .5″ and .55″ and the normal weight of the average coin is about 28 grains. The circular legend is often defective, variety C being most remarkable in this respect.

The emblem on the reverse is here described as Altar. Smith had taken it to be a rudely executed bird. There is no doubt that Garuḍa on some coins looks like the altar, but the device is repeated so frequently in such a stereo-typed manner that it would be more correct to call it Altar as Mr. Allan has done. It appears to have been borrowed from the gold coins, where it figures on the obverse of the Standard type of Samudragupta and the Chhattra type of Chandragupta II.

It has been suggested that the device may be a *Tulasī-vṛindāvana*. This view is undoubtedly a plausible one, but it has to be admitted that the three prong-like things upon the altar have a greater resemblance to the three flames of fire than to the branches of the Tulasī plant. The apex and base of the lower object are too broad and its vertical portion too narrow to justify its description as a *vṛindāvana*. The

art however, is very crude and we cannot exclude the possibility of the device being intended for *Tulasī-vṛindāvana*, especially when it is remembered that the legend on the obverse proclaims the Vaishṇava faith of the emperor, which attached great importance to the Tulasī plant.

The coins of this class are as crude in execution and irregular in size as those of class I. In many cases the features of the bust can hardly be recognised as those of a human being. The weight of normal pieces varies from 26 to 32 grains; the size is sometimes only .4″, and sometimes it is as large as .55″.

The Altar type is divided into three varieties; variety A has the king's *biruda* as *Vikramāditya*, variety B shows the *biruda* as *Kramāditya* and variety C has no *biruda* at all.

Altar type is the most common type of the silver currency of Skandagupta. The Garuḍa and the Bull types are relatively rare.

Variety A

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(With the title *Vikramāditya*)

(1) Silver; ·5″; 26·4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XX. 15.

Obv: Bust very crude and truncated in front; no traces of Greek letters.

Rev: Altar complete; legend, from IX, *ta-śra-Vakramadatya-Skanda.*

(Pl. XVIII. 11)

(2) Silver; .55″; 32.8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XX. 16.

Obv: Bust crude; face truncated.

Rev: (VIII) *ta-śra-Vakramadatya-Skand.*

(Pl. XVIII. 12)

Variety B

(With the title *Kramāditya*)

The general description of this variety is as follows:—

Obv: Bust of king to r.; traces of letters like H, O, etc. on some coins.

Rev: Altar; circular legend beginning on the left at VI or VII or X, *Paramabhāgavata-śrī-Skandagupta-Kramāditya.*

The title *Kramāditya* occurs so regularly and on so large a number of coins that we cannot regard it as an abbreviation of *Vikramāditya,* dictated by the smallness of space or caused by the carelessness of the engraver. It occurs also on the gold coins of Skandagupta. We must therefore assume that this ruler had taken both the *birudas, Kramāditya* and *Vikramāditya.*

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 4

(1) Silver; .5″; 30.1 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. XX. 22.
Obv: Bust of the king truncated in front. No Greek letters.
Rev: Altar in the centre; legend, (V) *Parama-bhagavata-śra-Skandgupta-Kramadatya.*

(Pl. XVIII. 13)

(2) Silver; .5″; 28.4 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. XX. 23.
Obv: Bust fairly entire; no Greek letters.
Rev: Legend (VIII) *Paramabhagavata-śra-Skandagupta-Kramadatya*; concluding letters partly truncated. Note the irregular size of the coin.

(Pl. XVIII. 14)

(3) Silver; .5″; 29.6 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. XX. 29.
Obv: In front of the bust, Greek letters HOH, on the head UU.
Rev: Legend (V) *Paramabhagavata-śra-Skandagupta*; concluding letters partly preserved.

(Pl. XVIII. 15)

(4) Silver; .4″; 24.7 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.,* Pl. XXI. 8.
Obv: Face truncated.
Rev: Defective legend (XII) *Para-śra-Skandagupta-Kramadatya.*

(Pl. XVIII. 16)

Variety C

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 2

(Without any *āditya biruda*)

(1) Silver; .4″; 29 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 11.

Oba: Crude bust of the king to right; Greek letters UHI.

Rev: Altar truncated above; to some extent it looks like a crude Garuḍa; legend (V) *Parama........'Skandagupta.*

(**Pl. XVIII. 17**)

(2) Silver; .4″; 30.5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 12.

Obv: Bust truncated in front; OI behind.

Rev: Altar complete; Legend (V) *Parama.........Skandagupta.*

(**Pl. XVIII. 18**)

CLASS IV

MADHYADEŚA TYPE

The coins of this type show the fan-tailed peacock on the reverse, first introduced by Kumāragupta. The features of the king on the obverse are similar to those of his father on this class. His nose is flat and there are no moustaches. The coins of this class are larger in size and better in execution than those of the classes I to III prevailing in Western India. The normal weight varies between 30 and 32 grains, though some pieces are as heavy as 36.7 grains and others as light as 26.5 grains. The date is given in front of the face; the dates so far read are 144; 145, 146 and 148 G. E., corresponding to 463, 464, 465, and 467 A.D.

Two varieties are distinguished in this class; in variety A the legend is *Vijitāvaniravanipatir-jayati divaṁ Skandaguptoyam* (**Pl. XXVI. 18**); in variety B, *Vijitavaniravanipatis Śrī-Skandagupto divaṁ jayati* (**Pl. XXVI. 17**).

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 5

Variety A

(Legend ending with *Skandaguptoyam*)

(1) Silver; .6″; 32.1 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 14.

Obv: Bust of the king to r.; in front, date in numerals arranged perpendicularly, 100, 40, 4.

33

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock; legend (XI) *Vijitāvaniravanapata (jayata divaṁ Ska)ndaguptoyam.*

(Pl. XVIII. 19)

(2) Silver; .6″; 34.8 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 16.

Obv: As above; date 100, 40, 8.

Rev: Legend (XII), *Vajatavanaravanapatirjayata dava Skanda-guptaya.*

(Pl. XVIII. 20)

Variety B

(Legend ending with *divaṁ jayati*)

(3) Silver; .55″; 31.2 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 20.

Obv: Bust entire, but date numerals truncated. 100, 40.

Rev: Legend blurred, from IX, *divaṁ jayata.*

(Pl. XVIII. 21)

(4) Silver; .55″; 33.5 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl.XXI.21.

Obv: Eyes very prominent, nose slightly crooked; date blurred, 100, 40.

Rev: Legend (XII) *Vijatavanaravanpata śra-Skandagupto divam jayati*; letters between I and V blurred and truncated.

(Pl. XVIII. 22)

N.B. The fabric of this and the next coin is different from that of the last one,

(5) Silver; .55″; 36 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 22.

Obv: As above; date off the flan.

Rev: Legend (XII), *Vi(jatava)naravana(pata) śra Skanda-gupta dava jayata.*

(Pl. XVIII. 23)

CHAITYA TYPE (?)

Cunningham has published a silver coin, which he described as follows:—

"*Obv:* King's head with moustaches to right.

Rev: Chaitya symbol. Legend in old Gupta characters very much crowded together; *Mahārājā-Kumāragupta-parama-mahādītya-mahārājā-Skandagupta* (?).

(Pl. XVIII. 24)

"Mr. Newton has published a similar coin (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 12 and fig. 13) of which he remarks that 'the title Mahārājā refers it to the Gupta series, while the addition of the father's name forms a connecting link with the coins of the Satraps of Saurashtra.' Mr. Newton reads the name of the king as Rudra or Nanda. I think, however, that it is intended for Skandagupta, the letters being so crowded together that only portions of them could be delineated on the coin. I should have liked to read *Devagupta,* but there is a tail to the second letter on both coins which points to *nd* or *ndra.* Perhaps the name may be Chandragupta III, which would be a natural appellation of Kumāra's eldest son, as it has always been a Hindu custom to name one child after its grand-father."[1]

While commenting upon the above view of Cunningham Smith observes that a name which can be read as Rudra, Nanda, Skanda or Chandra may fairly be regarded as illegible. Fleet, who had examined the legend, regarded almost every letter as doubtful.

Cunningham was a great authority on Indian numismatics and one cannot lightly set aside his reading. But he was himself not sure of the reading he proposed. After carefully examining the facsimiles of the coins published by Newton and Cunningham, which are reproduced in this work, I have come to the conclusion that no Gupta king, who was son of Kumāra, had issued these coins. They are really the coins of Dahrasena of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. The legend on the coins of this ruler reads *Mahārājendradattaputtra-paramavaishṇava-śrī Mahārāja-Dahrasenasya.* Now it may be noted that Newton had actually proposed to read *Mahārājendra-puttrasya*[2] on his coin and his facsimile makes it quite clear that the letters following are *datta.* On Cunningham's coin the base line under the

1. *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX. p. 24; Pl. V. 8.
2. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII. p. 12.

Chaitya comes immediately below the letters *ndradatta* and this has led to the amputation of the lower part of *ndra*; the next two letters can be read as *datta* by any student of the Traikūṭaka coinage. The name Skandagupta was not definitely read either by Newton or by Cunningham; the letters of the legend at this place were intended to be Dahrasena. They are blurred on the coin of Cunningham, hence his conjecture that the name may be Rudra, Nanda or Skanda. Cunningham's reading *mahāditya* is conjectural; the letters are all off the flan.

The above discussion will show that no son of Kumāragupta issued any coins imitating the reverse device of the Kshatrapa coinage. The name Skanda is not at all legible on the coins. We cannot therefore assume that Sknadagupta had issued any coins with Chaitya on the reverse. The coins under discussion are Traikūṭaka coins.

We have illustrated these coins in **Pl. XVIII** and shall describe them below.

(1) Silver; .6″; weight not known; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, p. 12.

Obv: Bust of the king of the Kshatrapa type to right; collar on the neck clear; moustaches on the face. No traces of Greek letters.

Rev: In the centre, three arched Chaitya, looking like a crude human face in the drawing; legend, beginning at VI, *Maharajandradattaputra-paramavashṇava-śra-maharaja-Dahrasana*; out of these letters *maharajandra-datta-putra* are distinct; *parama* is partly legible; *vashṇava-śra* are truncated; *da* is indicated just by a line; *hra* is indistinct and *na* is also indicated by a line.

(Pl. XVIII. 24)

(2) Silver; weight not known; size, ·6″; *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, Pl. V. 8.

Obv: Bust of the king of the Kshatrapa type to right; no traces of Greek letters.

Rev: Legend, beginning at XII, *Maharajandradatta-puttra-paramavaishṇava-śra-maharaja-Dahrsasana.* Of these letters, *ndra* is cut off at the base, *da* is indicated by a line; *para* are very big letters at V; *vashṇava* are blurred; the rest of the letters are failry distinct.

(Pl. XVIII. 25)

CHAPTER XI

COINAGE OF THE SUCCESSORS OF SKANDAGUPTA

(1) PURUGUPTA

Skandagupta had a brother named Purugupta, but it is not yet certain as to when he ruled. Purugupta is known to us from the seals of his descendants Kumāragupta II[1] and Vishṇugupta.[2] These seals, while giving the genealogy, refer to Kumāragupta I and then immediately pass on to Purugupta as a *Mahārājādhirāja*, omitting his brother Skandagupta altogether. Owing to the absence of conclusive evidence, it is possible to argue that (1) Purugupta of the Bhitari and Nālandā seals is identical with Skandagupta, or (2) that he is his half-borther, who unsuccessfully contested his succession in *c.* 455 A. D., or (3) that he succeeded Skandagupta after his death, the latter having no son of his own. It is not possible for us to discuss these different theories in this work; nor is it necessry to do so. It is very unlikely that Skandagupta and Purugupta could have been identical; why should the name Purugupta occur only on seals and not in any of the inscriptions ? Since Purugupta is expressly described as *Mahārājādhirāja* in two seals, he may be presumed to have ruled after the death of Skandagupta for the short period of a year or two during *c.* 468-9 A.D. He is not likely to have contested Skandagupta's succession. The question we have to consider now is whether he had issued any coins.

Till quite recently it was generally held that Purugupta had issued gold coins of the Archer type assuming the *biruda Vikrama*. One variety of these coins had no distinctive name

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1. *J.A.S.B.*, 1889 pp. 84-105.
2. *E.I.*, XXVI., p. 235.

of the emperor on the obverse, the reverse giving only the legend *Śrīvikrama.* On a solitary coin of the other variety, however, along with the legend *Śrīvikrama* on the reverse, there was a name under the king's left arm. This name was read as *Pura* by Mr. Allan[1] and it was therefore assumed that all heavy weight coins with the *biruda Śrīvikrama* were the issues of Purugupta.

Mr. S.K. Saraswati was the first to challenge the correctness of the reading *Pura,* proposed by Mr. Allan. He maintained that the perpendicular legend under the left arm read as *Budha* and therefore the coin should be ascribed to Budhagupta.[2]

For a long time, the question could not be settled with certainty. For, on the solitary coin known till 1948 the first letter could be read both as *pu* or *bu.*[3] The second letter could be taken as a slightly misshapen *dha* or a blurred *ra,* the flan having moved during the striking. In 1948, however, two new coins of this type were found, where the reading of the obverse legend under the arm was clearly *Budha,* and the reverse legend was *Śrīvikrama.* It thus became quite clear that the king, who issued these coins, was Budhagupta and not Purugupta. It is also very probable that the heavy weight Archer type coins, having the legend *Śrīvikrama* on the reverse, were also the issues of the same emperor. We have therefore to conclude that Purugupta was different from Skandagupta and ruled as a *Mahārājādhirāja* after his reign, and that gold coins bearing his personal name have not yet seen the light of the day. It is however likely that the coins with *biruda Prakāśāditya* may have been issued by him. We shall discuss this point later.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. 134.
2. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. p. 692.
3. If the letter is taken to have a top *mātrā,* it can be read as *pu*; if the top *mātrā* is regarded as a part of the letter, it can be read as *bu.*

(2) GHAṬOTKACHAGUPTA

The Tumain fragmentary inscription, dated 116 G. E. (435 A. D.), refers to a prince named Ghaṭotkacha,[1] who appears to have been a son, or perhaps a brother of Kumāragupta I, ruling at Mālwā as its imperial viceroy. It is possible to attribute to him the solitary Archer type coin in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Museum, which bears the legend *Ghaṭo* under the king's left arm. We shall first describe this unique coin.

Gold; .8″; weight not known; St. Petersberg (Leningrad) Museum; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 3.

Obv: King, nimbate, standing l. bow with string inwards in l. hand and arrow in r.; *Garuḍadhvaja* behind the r. hand. Legend under the l. arm, *Ghaṭo.* Only illegible traces of circular legend.

Rev: Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus with lotus of long stalk in l. hand and noose in r. Symbol on l. Legend on r., *Kramādityaḥ.*

(Pl. XIV. 16)

There is only one coin of this ruler and its attribution is not free from difficulty. The view of Dr. Bloch that it may have been an issue of Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, is untenable. The Archer type was not introduced in the Gupta series till the time of his grandson. Further, it is not at all probable that the coinage could have been started by Ghaṭotkcha, who was a petty ruler. The coin will have to be attributed either to Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tumain record, mentioned above, or to Ghaṭotkachagupta of Vaiśāli seal, or to a hither-to unknown later scion of Gupta family of that name ruling towards the end of the fifth century.

Mr. Allan is inclined to support the last mentioned view,[2] primarily on account of the treatment of the legs of the

1. *E.I.*, XXVI. p. 115
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, liv, civ.

goddess on the reverse which, according to him, indicates that Ghaṭotkacha of the coin was a contemporary of Kumāragupta II;[1] (cf. **Pl. XIV. 16** and **XV. 4-5**). Fresh discoveries have now shown that Kumāragupta II was not ruling between *c.* 530 and 540 A.D., as Mr. Allan had thought,[2] but about 60 years earlier, from *c.* 472 to 475 A.D. The treatment of the legs of the goddess need not therefore stand in the way of placing this coin in *c.* 470 A.D. It is quite possible that Ghaṭotkachagupta, the governor of Mālwā, might well have survived Kumāragupta I by ten or fifteen years. During the troubled period following the death of Skandagupta, his brother Ghaṭotkachagupta might have assumed independence and started issuing gold coinage. Being a very old man at *c.* 470 A. D. he could not have ruled long and his coinage therefore is scanty. Being issued at about 470 A.D., it naturally shows some stylistic affinity in the treatment of the legs of the goddess with the coinage of Kumāragupta II, who ascended the imperial throne in *c.* 472. A.D.

It is therefore possible to propose the identification of Ghaṭotkachagupta of the St. Petersberg coin with Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tumain inscription. This theory is, however, not free from difficulties, for it presupposes that the two rival brothers had the same *biruda Kramāditya*; such a thing is so far unknown. It has further to be admitted that the Tumain inscription does not enable us to find out the precise relationship between Kumāragupta I, the ruling emperor, and Ghaṭotkachagupta, the Mālwā governor; the latter may as well have been a brother of Kumāragupta and not his son. In that case he may be identical with Ghaṭotkachagupta of the seal found at Vaiśālī. If we assume this to be the case, then we shall have to admit that it is not very likely

1. The point of similarily is the slight raising of the legs of the goddess. But it may be pointed out that this is not a uniform characteristic of the coinage of Kumāragupta II (cf. **Pl. XV. 6**).
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. 140.

that a brother of Kumāragupta could have survived him by 15 years and issued coins during the troubled period between 468 A.D. and 472 A.D. It is, however, possible to suggest that he might have contested the accession of his nephew Skandagupta in 455 A.D. and issued coins at that time. As Skandagupta reasserted himself in a short time, the coinage of his rebellious uncle could not be numerous.[1]

The evidence, so far available, is so meagre and inconclusive that it is not possible to be certain about the identification of the issuer of the coin under discussion. Its weight also is not recorded; had it been known, we may have been in a better position to tackle the question of its attribution. We have to await fresh discoveries for the proper solution of the mystery surrounding this solitary coin.

(3) NARASIMHAGUPTA

Recent discoveries have now conclusively shown that Purugupta had two sons, Narasiṁhagupta and Budhagupta.[2] Narasiṁhagupta, who was probably the elder, succeeded his father. He had, however, a short reign, because we find his son Kumāragupta II on the throne in 473 A.D. Kumāragupta also had probably a brief rule, for we find his uncle Budhagupta ruling from *c.* 476 to 495 A. D. Kumāragupta's son Vishṇugupta also eventually became a king. Whether he had to wait till the death of his grand-uncle Budhagupta, or whether he ruled contemporaneously with him over a part of Gupta empire, we do not know. We have indicated our hesitating preference for the last alternative in Chap. I., p. 9.

If, however, we reject the theory of the division of the Gupta empire and assume that Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta of relatively purer gold coinage are different from the rulers of the same name who issued coins in baser gold, we can

1. See also Addenda at the end of the book.
2. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66. pp. 64-66.

suggest the following succession table, which also is not free from difficulties.

1. Purugupta, brother of Skandagupta; *c.* 468 to 470 A.D.; known from the Bhitari seal; no gold coins unless we attribute the Prakāśāditya coins to him.

2. Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya I, son or Purugupta; *c.* 470-472 A.D.; mentioned in the Bhitari seal; issued gold coins, here described as of class I, in purer gold with 29% alloy; introduces the fashion of a letter between the feet; *gre* on his coins; traces of circular legend.

3. Kumāragupta II, son of Narasiṁhagupta I; *c.* 472 to 475 A.D.; supplanted by his uncle in 475 A.D.; issued gold coins of the class I with 21% alloy; these are few in number and have circular legend, but no letter between the feet.

4. Budhagupta, brother of No. 2; *c.* 475 to 496 A. D.; few gold coins with the personl name; alloy 23%; circular legend present but no letter between the feet.

5. Prakāśāditya; relationship not known; may be placed between *c.* 496 to 500 A. D. if not identical with Purugupta; circular legend; letters *ru* and *ma* under the horse; alloy 23%.

6. Vainyagupta; relationship unknown; *c.* 500 to 510 A.D. or *c.* 496 to 510 A.D. if we identify Prakāśāditya with Purugupta. Date 508 supplied by the Gunaighar plate; circular legend; the letter *bhā* between the feet; alloy 27%.

7. Bhānugupta; relationship unknown; *c.* 510 to 518 A.D.; his general Goparāja was killed in Eraṇ in 510 A.D. probably in the Hūṇa war; no coins known.

8. Narasiṁhagupta II Bālāditya; relationship unknown; perhaps identical with Narasiṁhagupta of the fragmentary Nālandā seal; *c.* 518 to 532 A.D.; eventually overthrew Mihirakula in *c.* 530; issued gold coins, here called of class II, with 46% alloy and the letter *gre* between the feet but with no circular legend.

9. Kumāragupta III; son of No. 8; *c.* 532-540 A.D.; perhaps identical with the Kumāragupta of the fragmentary

Nālandā seal and the ruler in Damodarpur copper plate, dated 543 A.D., where name is not quite legible but has been taken to be Kumāragupta by some scholars; issued numerous gold coins of class II with 46% alloy having the letters *go* and *ja* between the feet, but no circular legend. Coins mostly from the Kālighāt hoard.

10. Vishṇugupta, son of No. 10; *c.* 540 to 550 A.D.; perhaps identical with Vishṇugupta of the fragmentary Nālandā seal; many gold coins of base gold with 57% alloy in the Kālighāt hoard; letter *ru* between the feet and no circular legend. In Berhampur in Cuttuck district one gold coin of this ruler was found along with 47 gold coins of Prasannamātra,[1] who ruled sometime between *c.* 550 to 650 A.D.

As against the above order of succession it may be pointed out that we cannot with confidence differentiate between two rulers of the same name, merely because there is a greater alloy in one class of their coins than in another; Kumāragupta I issued pure silver coins along with silver-coated pieces. It is doubtful whether we can distinguish between Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal and the rulers of the same name in the fragmentary Nālandā seal. If we analyse the account of Bālāditya's prolonged and desperate fight with Mihirakula given by Yuan Chwang, it appears very doubtful whether a king beset with so many difficulties could ever have issued copious currency even in base gold. Vishṇugupta could as well have ruled at *c.* 500 A.D. and yet his solitary coin can well be found along with 47 coins of Prasannamātra in the Berhampur hoard. A Gupta king ruling between 540 and 550 A.D. is not likely to have issued even debased gold currency as copious as that of Vishṇugupta.

We are not yet in a position to confidently propose any theory about the succession of the later Gupta emperors,

1. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1926-7, p. 270.

which can meet with general acceptance. We therefore prefer to follow the tentative chronology suggested in Chap. I.

Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya ruled as an emperor from *c.* 470 to 472 A.D. He has to be differentiated from his homonym, who has been credited with the expulsion of Mihirakula by Yuan Chwang in *c.* 530 A. D. Though he had a short reign and lived in troubled times, his coinge is not scanty; we have so far found about 50 pieces issued by him.[1] Most of these coins were found in the Kālīghāṭ hoard, though one was found in Nadea district of Bengal. The trouble through which the empire was passing during the reign of this emperor is reflected by the alloy of 54% in most of his coins. Obviously the treasury was depleted owing to the internecine struggle. A few coins of his, however, have only 21% alloy. All his gold coins are issued to the *suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains, and some are even four or five grains heavier. Their size varies from .8″ to .95″.

The coinage of Narasiṁhagupta is confined to the Archer type only. It can be divided into two classes, class I where the metal is relatively purer and there is a circular legend on the obverse, and class II, where the metal is base, the execution crude and the circular legend non-existing. Both the varieties have the letter *gre* or *gu* between the feet. The gold in the *B.M.C.* coin No. 560 of class I was found to be 79% and that in the *B.M.C.* coin No. 565 of class II 54%.

It is, however, not impossible that the coins of the class II may have been issued by Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, the opponent of Mihirakula, and that the coins of the class I only may be the issues of Narasiṁhagupta, the son and successor of Purugupta. As the latter had a short reign of about three years, he is not likely to have left us a numerous coinage. The coins in the Kālīghāt hoard may all have

1. *J.A.S.B.*, p. 1889, pp. 17-18.

belonged to Narasiṁhagupta II, the opponent of Mihirakula. It is important to note that none of the coins of class I have so far been traced to this hoard. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to state whether this possibility is more probable than the other view that all the coins bearing the name of Nara are to be attributed to the son of Purugupta and nephew of Skandagupta.

It is Narasiṁhagupta, who first introduces single letters between the feet of the king. On the coins of this ruler the letter *gre* or *gu* appears on the coins of both the varieties. Such letters occurred on the late Kushāṇa coins, but were discontinued by the early Gupta emperors. Why they were introduced by Narasiṁhagupta and continued by most of his successors and what was their significance is not yet known. The letter occurring on the coins of this emperor appears to be *gu* or *gre*.

We shall now proceed to describe the coins of Narasiṁhagupta, illustrated in the plate.

ARCHER TYPE

CLASS I

(With circular legend on the obverse and lesser alloy)[1]

(1) Gold; .9″; 144.5 grains; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 7.

Obv: King, nimbate, standing to l. and holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. and wearing *dhotī*, sash and jewelry; Garuḍa standard on l. Legend, under the l. arm of the king, *Nara*;[2] circular legend incomplete and uncertain.[3] Between feet, *gre*.

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXII, 7-9.
2. So far no coins have been found giving any letters outside the bow-string like *siṁha* or *gupta*.
3. Mr. Allan states that the portion on the left reads *Narasaṁhagupta* on this coin (p. 137); the facsimile given in the *Catalogue*, which is reproduced here, enables us to read only the letter *sa* just below Garuḍa; the preceding two letters look like *Napa* rathar than *Nara*.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus facing to front, noose in r. hand and lotus in l.; border of dots. Symbol on the l. Legend, *Bālādityaḥ.*

(Pl. XV. 1)

CLASS II

(Without circular legend on the obverse and with greater alloy)

(2) Gold; .8"; 144.8 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 11. The same as above, but without any circular legend on the obverse.

(Pl. XV. 2)

(4) COINAGE OF KUMARAGUPTA II

Narasiṁhagupta was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta II. Inscriptions at Sarnath show that he was on the throne in 473 A.D., but that he was succeeded by his uncle Budhagupta sometime in or before 476 A.D.[1] If we assume that he did not continue to rule along with Budhagupta in a part of the Gupta empire, his reign will be a short one. His coins are, however, fairly numerous, and they also show some variations on the obverse; the letter between the king's feet is *jo* in some cases and *gā* or *go* in others. Numismatic evidence thus suggests that he should have ruled longer than four years. It is therefore best to assume that he continued to rule over a small part of the Gupta dominion as a feudatory of Budhagupta even after 476 A. D. and was succeeded in his principality by his son Vishṇugupta. Both the father and the son were probably ruling somewhere in Bengal, as most of their coins hail from the Kālīghāṭ hoard. Coins of class I, which have lesser alloy,[2] may have been issued when Kumāragupta II was ruling over the whole Gupta empire; coins of class II, which have greater alloy,[3] may belong to

1. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1914-5, pp. 124-5.
2. Coin No. 571 of the *B.M.C.* belonging to this class has an alloy of 21% only.
3. Coin No. 576 of the *B.M.C.* belonging to this class has an alloy of 46%.

the later stage of his career, when he had become a mere feudatory.

There are some indications to suggest that a Kumāragupta III may have flourished in Magadha towards the middle of the 6th century; Damodarpur copperplate of the year 224 G. E. (543 A. D.),[1] where the name of the issuer is imperfectly preserved, is presumed to have contained the name of Kumāragupta by some scholars and of Budhagupta and Vishṇugupta by others.[2] If there was Kumāragupta III, who ruled during *c.* 540 to 550 A.D., it is not impossible that he might have issued the coins of class II. Coins of class II are however numerous and one may wonder whether Kumāragupta III ruling in *c.* 540 A.D. had leisure enough to issue such a copious currency, when his kingdom was threatened by Yaśodharman, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas. Further discoveries alone can settle this question.

In the genealogy of the Later Guptas of Magadha, we have also a Kumāragupta, ruling by the middle of the 7th century. Very probably none of the coins we are discussing now were issued by him. For no other ruler of that dynasty is so far known to have issued any gold coins, similar to those we are discussing at present.

The coins of Kumāragupta II are all in gold only and confined to the Archer type. The type shows no variations in the manner of holding the bow. Classes however can be distinguished by the presence or absence of the letters between the king's feet. Coins of class I have no letters between the king's feet and have an alloy of 29% only; the circular legend is mostly off and the reverse legend is *Kramāditya* only and not *Śrī-Kramāditya*. Coins of class II have letters between the feet and have 46% alloy. Such traces of the circular legend as remain show that it was intended to be *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-*

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 142; XVII. p. 193, Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337.

Kumāragupta-Kramādityaḥ (**Pl. XXVI. 19**). The reverse legend is *Śrī-Kramāditya* and not merely *Kramāditya*. The variety A shows the letter *go*[1] between the feet and the variety B, *jā* or *jo*. These letters must obviously have had a significance, but unfortunately we cannot yet make it out. Probably they are the initials of local governors.

The Archer type of Kumāragupta II can be easily distinguished from class II of the same type of Kumāragupta I. It is true that on both, we have only the letter *Ku* under the arm. But there is a marked difference in weight; the coins of Kumāragupta I weigh only about 124 grains, while those of Kumāragupta II are at least 20 grains heavier. The *biruda* on the reverse of the one is *Mahendra*, while that on the other is *Kramāditya*. Smith had suggested that the coins of class I may be the issues of Kumāragupta I,[2] but the reverse legend *Kramāditya* of these coins goes against that theory. The *biruda* of Kumāragupta I was always *Mahendra* or *Mahendrāditya* and never *Kramāditya*.

We now proceed to describe the coins of this ruler, illustrated in this work.

CLASS I

(With no letter between king's feet)[3]

(1) Gold; ·8″; 143 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 14.

Obv: King, nimbate, head bare, hair curly, standing l. holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r.; Garuḍa standard behind the r. arm. Below the l. arm *Ku* with crescent above. Marginal legend mostly off

1. It is tempting to suggest that *Go* may stand for *Goparāja*, who was killed while fighting the Hūṇas in 510 A.D. But his suzerain was Bhānugupta and Goparāja was unlikely to have been a contemporary of Kumāragupta II, whose reign probably did not extend beyond 485 or 490 A.D.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 94.
3. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 13-14.

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the flan, the traces of the last letter *pta* alone being visible on l. No letter between the feet.

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī seated on lotus facing, with lotus in l. hand and noose in r. hand. Symbol on left. Legend, *Kramāditya.*

(Pl. XV. 3)

CLASS II

(Base gold and letters between king's feet)[1]

Variety A

(With letter *go* between king's feet)

(2) Gold; .75″; 149.2 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 2.

Obv: As in class I, but with the letter *go* between the feet. Traces of *Mahārājādharāja-śrī-Ku* on the r.

Rev: Same as in class I but the legend is *Śrī-Kramādityaḥ* and not *Kramādtyaḥ* only. Symbol on l.

(Pl. XV. 4)

(3) Gold; .75″; 148.1 grains; *B.M.C.*,*G.D.*, Pl.XXII.15.

Obv: Same as above, but no traces of marginal inscription and a wheel-like object near the upper end of the bow.

(Pl. XV. 5)

Rev: As above.

Variety B

(With the letter *jā* or *jo* between the king's feet)

(4) Gold; .8″, 148.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 5.

Obv: As in variety A, circular legend *rajadharaja*; *jo* between the feet.

Rev: As above. Symbol on l. Legend, *Śrī-Kramāditya.*

(Pl. XV. 6)

(5) Gold; .8″; 147.5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 4.

Obv: As above· circular legend, ..*rājādhrāja*; *jā* between the feet.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII, 15, XXIII, 1-3; *C.M.I.*, Pl. II, 2.

Rev: As above. Legend, *Śra-Kramādatya.*

(Pl. XV. 7)

(5) COINAGE OF BUDHAGUPTA

There is no doubt that the Gupta empire regained much of its lost prestige during the reign of Budhagupta (*c.* 475-495 A.D.).[1] Though this emperor had a fairly long reign, his coinage, both in gold and silver, is very scarce. For a long time only a few silver pieces of this ruler were known, and it was thought that he had issued no gold coinage at all. The present writer had once suggested that the coins of Prakāśāditya may be ascribed to Budhagupta, as it was very unlikely that a powerful king, who had issued silver coinage, would have refrained from minting gold pieces. Mr. S. K. Saraswati had suggested that the coin in *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 23 should be attributed to Budhagupta, as the legend under the left arm reads *Budha* rather that *Pura.*[2] This coin, being somewhat blurred at the legend, no definite opinion could be expressed about the reading of the disputed word. If the upper horizontal line is taken as a part of the letter, it can be taken as *bu*; if it is taken as an extended serif, it appears like *pu.* The lower letter could be taken as a blurred *ra*, if the flan was assumed to have moved a little while striking; otherwise it appeared like a misshapen *dha.*

Two new coins discovered in 1948, however, made it quite clear that the legend under discussion was *Budha* and not *Pura.* Both these coins are in the Banaras Hindu University, one in the cabinet of the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, and the other in the College of Indology. The reading on the former is absolutely distinct. It is now clear that Mr. Saraswati was right in suggesting that the legend under the left arm should be read as *Budha* and not as *Pura.*

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1. If the reading of the date 180 on one of his silver coins were definite, his reign would extend to 499 A.D.
2. *Indian Culture*, I, p. 692.

The *biruda* of king Budhagupta on all the three gold coins, where his name appears on the obverse, is *Śrī-Vikrama*. There are, however, some other Archer type coins, which have this same *biruda* on the reverse, but which give no name of the issuer on the obverse. The coins show a general resemblance to the coins of Budhagupta in type, size and weight, and it is likely that they may have been issued by the same ruler. We have a parallel case in the Archer type of Kumāragupta I, where neither the name Kumāra nor the letter *Ku* occurs on the obverse of the variety C, only his *biruda* appearing on the reverse. In his Tiger-slayer type also, the letter *Ku* is present in one variety on the obverse and absent in the other. We cannot, howevcr, altogether exclude the possibility of the coins without the name Budha on the obverse and with the *biruda Vikrama* on the reverse being issued by a hither-to-unknown Gupta emperor of the 5th or the early 6th century A. D. These coins were once attributed to Chandragupta II, because of the reverse *biruda Vikrama*, which was adopted by him; but the heavy weight of these coins,—142 grains,—makes this ascription extremely improbable. It is therefore best to assume that the heavy weight Archer type coins with the legend *Vikrama* on the reverse were issued by Budhagupta, who is now definitely known to have adopted that epithet. The alloy in one of these coins, *B.M.C.* No. 552, was found to be 23%. The coins of Budhagupta are thus not more impure than those of Skandagupta.

Budhagupta confined himself only to the Archer type, which shows no variations in details. The king is always facing left, holding the bow at the top. In class I, the name of the king Budha is engraved under the left arm; in class II, this feature is absent. There is a circular legend on the obverse, but it has not yet become possible to decipher it, as it is fragmentary and indistinct. Initial letters appear to be *paraha*; it may have begun with *Parahitakārī*.

We now proceed to describe the coins illustrated.

CLASS I

(With the legend *Budha* on the obverse)[1]

(1) Gold; .8″; 144.5 grains; College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.

Obv: King, nimbate, standing to l. wearing *dhotī* and ornaments, holding in l. hand bow at the top with string inside, and arrow in right hand. Garuḍa standard behind the r. hand. Below l. arm, *Budha* written perpendicularly, but rather blurred. Circular legend, beginning at I, *Para.*

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated on lotus holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus in l. Symbol on l.; legend on r. blurred, *Śrīvikrama.*

(Pl. XV. 9)

(2) Gold; .8″; 144.8 grains; Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras Hindu University.

Obv: As above, but the letters under the arm *Budha* are quite distinct. No traces of the circular legend.

Rev: As above, but the lotus on which the goddess is seated is partly off the flan. Legend blurred.

(Pl. XV. 8)

(3) Gold; .95″; weight not recorded; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 23.

Obv: King, nimbate, standing to l., holding bow at the top in l. hand and arrow in r.; Garuḍa standard in front of the king. Under l. arm, below crescent, *Budha,* the last letter being slightly blurred owing to the flan having moved during striking.

Rev: Goddess seated on lotus, facing, holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus in the l.; symbol blurred. Legend, *Śravakama,* blurred.

(Pl. XV. 10)

1. *J.N.S.I.*, XII. p. 112.

CLASS II

(Without the king's name on the obverse)

(4) Gold; .9″; 142.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXI. 24.

Obv: As above. Circular legend *Para.* No legend under the l. arm.

Rev: As above. Legend, *Śrīvikramaḥ* quite clear,

(Pl. XV. 11)

SILVER COINAGE OF BUDHAGUPTA

The silver coinage, which was in abeyance during the reigns of Purugupta, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II, was resumed by Budhagupta. He is seen issuing coins only in the Madhyadeśa type. No coins of his of any of the Western Indian types have so far come to light. Most probably the Guptas had lost their control over Western Provinces by this time. It is true that the Valabhi ruler Droṇasiṁha, who was coronated in the last quarter of the 5th century, is described as being installed by the sole lord of the circumference of the whole earth, who had personally come for that purpose. It seems most probable that this sole lord of the whole earth is most likely the emperor Budhagupta. The invitation that was extended to him on this occasion, however, appears to be due to the prestige that the Guptas were still enjoying in the former provinces of their empire. It appears very doubtful whether Budhagupta had any effective control over Mālwā, Gujarat and Kathiawar at any period of his reign. The absence of his silver coins of any of the Western Indian types appears to be significant.

The Madhyadeśa type of Budhagupta is exactly similar to that of Kumāragupta or Skandagupta. The features of the face are slightly different; the nose is aquiline. The date is given in front in numerals. There are no traces of any Greek letters. The reverse shows the device of the fan-tailed peacock and the legend is *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ-śrī-Budhagupto divaṁ jayati*

(**Pl. XXVI. 20**). 'Budhagupta, who has conquered the earth, wins heaven.'

The average size of the coins is .55″ and weight 33 grains. One specimen, however, weighs 38.5 grains.

Only six silver coins of Budhagupta have been found so far. Five of them were procured by Cunningham at Banaras in 1835 and the sixth was obtained later by the same archæologist at Sarnath. All the Banaras coins were dated in 175. The date 180 has been read on the sixth piece, but the so-called symbol for 80 is doubtful.[1]

COINS ILLUSTRATAD : 4

(1) Silver; .55″; 38.3 grains; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl.XXIV.13.

Obv: Bust of the king to r.; date in front in symbols inscribed perpendicularly, 100,70,5, rather blurred.

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock with neck to .; circular legend blurred; (XII) *Vijitavanaravanapata-śra-Budhagupto divaṁ jayata*. Letters *Budhagupto* are clear from VII onwards.

(**Pl. XVIII. 26**)

(2) Silver; .55″; 33.6 grains; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, Pl.XXIV.14.

Obv: As above, but date off the flan.

Rev: As above; legend, blurred, but more distinct on the r. side; *Vijatavaniravanpata-śrī-Budhagupto diva jayati*.

(**Pl. XVIII. 28**)

(3) Silver; .55″; 35 grains; *C.A.S.R*, Vol. IX, Pl. V. 13.

Obv: As above, but date very distinct, 100, 70, 5.

Rev: As above.

(**Pl. XVIII. 27**)

(4) Silver; ·55″; 33.8 grains; *B.M.C. G.D.*, Pl.XXIV.15.

Obv: King's features resemble the Kshatrapa ones to some extent.

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1. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 227.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 13-15; *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, Pl. V. 13. *J.R.A.S.*, (O.S.), Vol. XI, Pl. II. 54-7.

Rev: Legend, ...*pata-śrī-Budhagupto dava ja(yati)*.
(Pl. XVIII. 29)

(6) VISHNUGUPTA

Vishṇugupta, who was a son of Kumāragupta II,[1] issued gold coins of the Archer type. He may have ascended the throne either after the death of Budhagupta in *c*. 496 A.D., or after the demise of his own father in *c*. 490 A.D. Most of his coins are known to have belonged to the Kālīghāṭ hoard; one was found in the Cuttuck district along with 47 coins of king Prasannamātra, a local ruler.[2] The indications of the findspots would thus suggest that the domain of Vishṇugupta was probably confined to a portion of southern or south-western Bengal.

Vishṇugupta of these coins is to be differentiated from Vishṇugupta of the Later Gupta dynasty, who ruled from *c*. 695 to 715 A.D. No coins of the Later Gupta dynasty have so far come to light.

The coins of Vishṇugupta weigh between 147 and 151 grains; their size is however rather small; it varies between .75″ and ·8″. His coins are heavily adulterated; *B.M.C.* No. 594 was found to contain an alloy of 57%. Between the king's feet occurs the letter *ru*, which is seen to figure on the coins of Prakāśāditya to be presently discussed. Under the king's left arm, we have the legend *Vishṇu*, but there are no traces of any circular legend on the obverse. The king's *biruda* on the reverse is *Śrī-Chandrāditya*.

We now proceed to describe the coin illustrated.

ARCHER TYPE[3]

(1) Gold; .8″; 149 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 9.
Obv: King standing nimbate to left, holding bow and arrow. Garuḍa-standard on l. Under the l. arm,

1. *J.N.S.I.*, III, pp. 103-4.
2. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1926-7, p. 230.
3. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 9-12; *I.M.C.*, Vol. I., Pl. II. 9.

beneath a crescent, *Vishṇu.* No trace of marginal legend.

Rev: Goddess seated on lotus, facing, holding noose in r. hand and a lotus in the l. Symbol on l. Legend, *Śrī-Chandrāditya.*

(Pl. XV. 12)

(7) VAINYAGUPTA

The Gunaighar plate[1] disclosed the existence of a Gupta king named Vainyagupta ruling in south Bengal in 507 A.D.; a seal of this ruler was also found at Nālandā. It is therefore clear that Vishṇugupta was probably succeeded by Vainyagupta in lower Bengal. Another Gupta king, Bhānugupta, is known to be ruling in 510 A.D. over eastern Mālwā. He may have been a contemporary of Vainyagupta or his successor ruling over the main Gupta kingdom. No coins of Bhānugupta have so far come to light.

Coins of Vainyagupta were for a long time in our museums, but they were mistaken for those of Chandragupta III. Rapson, who had first read the name under the left arm as *Chandra*, was not sure about his reading.[2] Mr. Allan admitted that the first letter looked like *va* and the second one like *tya* on *B.M.C.* No. 588, but felt that the reading *Chandra* was fully justsified by *B.M.C.* Nos. 588-589 and assigned the coins to a hither-to-unknown Chandragupta III. The medial *mātrā* over the upper letter was taken by him to be a crescent.[3]

When the Gunaighar plate disclosed the existence of a king named Vainyagupta, Dr. D. C. Ganguli was the first to propose that the coins in question should be attributed to Vainyagupta.[4] When once such a name as Vainyagupta was disclosed, the reading of the legend under the arm presented

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 45.
2. *Num. Chr.*, 1891, p. 57.
3. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, liii-liv.
4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934, p. 195.

no doubt or difficulty. The so-called crescent over the first letter was clearly a *mātrā* for medial *ai*, and the letter itself was *va* rather than *cha*; the lower letter could stand for a *nya* as well as *ndra*. It is thus clear that the issuer was Vainyagupta and not Chandragupta.

Coins of Vainyagupta, who had adopted the *biruda* of *Dvādaśāditya*, are only in gold and confined to the Archer type. The alloy in one of his coins, *B.M.C.* No. 589, was found to be 27%. Between the king's feet is the letter *bhā*. Bhānugupta, as shown above, was almost a contemporary of Vainyagupta. Can it be that he recognised his suzerainty and worked as his Mālwā viceroy and that Vainyagupta permitted the engraving of the initial of his viceroy on his issues ? Vainyagupta's dominion however appears to have been confined to Southern Bengal, as suggested by the find-spots of his coins and copper-plate. Only further discoveries can solve the mystery of the interrelation between these two rulers.

We now describe the coin of Vainyagupta illustrated in this work.

(1) Gold; .8″; 144.7 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 8.

Obv: King, wearing *dhotī*, necklace, armlets and wristlets standing to l.; hair falls on the neck in tresses; he is holding bow in the l. hand and arrow in the r.; Garuḍa standard in front. Indistinct traces of circular legend.

Rev: Goddess seated on lotus, facing, profuse hair on the head, holding lotus with long stalk in l. hand and noose in r. Symbol, partly visible. Legend, *Dvādaśādityaḥ*.

(Pl. XV. 13)

(8) PRAKAŚADITYA

Coins of all the Gupta emperors, known to us from non-numismatic sources, have been so far discussed. There is one

other king Prakāśāditya, who is known only from coins and appears to have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. We shall discuss his coins now.

King Prakāśāditya issued coins only in gold. His type is interesting and original. It shows the emperor riding a horse and attacking a lion; it may be therefore called Horseman-Lion-slayer type. It reminds one of the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I, where the emperor is shown attacking the beast from the horseback. The position of the Garuḍa standard on the obverse, which is seen to right just above the horse's head, is also unusual. The king is seen sometimes stooping down to reach the lion; sometimes he is shown erect. In some cases, we can see the sword being thrust right into the gaping mouth of the lion (**Pl. XV. 14**). All the known coins of this type are struck to the *suvarṇa* standard; only one piece *B.M.C.*, *G.D.* No. 556 is known to be weighing 136 grains; it may be a worn out coin. The coins of Prakāśāditya have nearly the same alloy as those of Skandagupta and Budhagupta, viz 23%.[1]

The identity of Prakāśāditya is difficult to determine at present. His coins are not found in east India. Their find-spots, Rampur, Shahajahanpur, Hardoi, Kanauj and Bharsar (in Banaras district), suggest that he was not a later emperor, whose power was confined to parts of Bengal. In the Bharasar hoard, Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya were the latest Gupta emperors; this would show that he came soon after Skanda-gupta, if he was not his immediate successor. The striking originality of his coin type, the place of the Garuḍa standard, the peculiar symbol on the reverse and the relative purity of the metal, all point out that Prakāśāditya has to be placed earlier than the time of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budha-gupta and Vishṇugupta, when the imperial Gupta coinage had come to be confined to the stereotyped Archer type and

1. This was found to be the alloy in *B.M.C.* No. 552.

had become heavily adulterated. The central theme of the obverse device of Prakāśāditya reminds us of the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I and it is very likely that the two rulers may have been close to each other in time. The feet of the goddess on the reverse of the coins of Prakāśāditya have been folded one behind the other in such a way as to present a single, horizontal pillow-like object. This peculiarity is to be seen on some coins of Skandagupta (**Pl. XIV. 11**) and on most of the coins of Narasiṁhagupta (**Pl. XV. 2**). Prakāśāditya therefore could not be far removed from them in time.

The cumulative effect of the above evidence seems to point to the identification of Prakāśāditya with Purugupta,[1] the brother of Skandagupta, who probably ruled between *c.* 467 and 468. He was sufficiently close in time to his father Kumāragupta I and could have adopted his Rhinoceros-slayer type with a slight variation. The style of the folded feet of the goddess may have been borrowed by him from the later issues of Skandagupta and the fashion may have been continued by his son Narasiṁhagupta. No other known Gupta king of the latter half of the fifth century is so far known not to have issued gold coinage, and it is therefore not unlikely that Prakāśāditya of gold coins may be Purugupta of the Bhitari seal.[2] Purugupta was ruling over an undivided Gupta empire and the coins of Prakāśāditya have been found from Rampur

1. Mr. Allan suggests this identification on p. 135 of *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, but at p. ciii of his Introduction, he leaves the question open, probably because he had attributed the heavy Archer type with *Vikrama* on the reverse to that ruler (p. 134).

2. It may be argued that the letter *ru* occurring on the obverse of his coins may suggest a late date, because it occurs on the coins of Vishṇugupta, who ruled after *c.* 490 A.D. It is, however, not unlikely that Prakāśāditya (Purugupta) may have introduced that letter and that Vishṇugupta may have copied it later. Until however we know the significance of these stray letters on the obverse, we can base no conclusions upon them.

to Banaras. Purugupta had most probably a short reign; the coinage of Prakāśāditya is also not copious.

The proposed identification of Prakāśāditya with Purugupta is only a probable theory; it may be confirmed or disproved by the discovery of fresh evidence.

The obverse circular legend on the coins of Prakāśāditya has not yet been completely read; it ended with *vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati* (**Pl. XXVI. 21**).

General description of the type is not now necessary after the above discussion; we proceed to describe the two coins illustrated.[1]

HORSEMAN-LION-SLAYER TYPE[2]

(1) God; .8″; 145.8 grains; *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI. 10.

Obv: King to r. on horseback wearing cap, stooping down to attack with sword in r. hand, a lion, which leaps at him; lion only half on the flan; bow behind the king's body with string over r. shoulder; Garuḍa standard above the horse's head on the right, faintly visible on this coin. Circular legend, ...[*vijitya*] *vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati*; 'Having conquered the earth, he wins the heaven.' Under the horse, *ru*.

Rev: Lakshmī, nimbate, seated, facing on lotus, holding noose in r. hand and lotus in l. resting on l. knee. Symbol on l.; it is a peculiar one and occurs on the coins of no other ruler. Legend, *Śrī-Prakāśādityaḥ*. **(Pl. XV. 14)**

(2) Gold; .75″; 146.2 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 3.

Obv: As above, but the lion is more fully upon the coin and his tail, turned up, can be seen; king not

1. See Appendix II far a third coin of this ruler with the letter *ma* under the horse.
2. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXII. 1-6; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 9; *J.R.A.S.*, Pl. III. 10; *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI. 10.

stooping down. Letter below the horse is indistinct. Legend, as above. Garuḍa standard clear on the r.

Rev: As above. Symbol in full; legend, *Śra-Prakāśāditya.*

(**Pl. XV. 15**)

A few rulers like Bhīmasena Harigupta, Vīrasena, Jaya-(nāga), Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka, etc., who flourished during the period, *c.* 525 to 650 A.D., issued gold, silver and copper coins in imitation of some of the Gupta types. There is no evidence to show that they belonged to the Imperial Gupta House; nor do we know their dynastic affiliations. It is possible that subsequent discoveries may show that a few of them belonged to some of the collateral branches of the Imperial Guptas. It will be therefore most convenient to discuss the coinage of these rulers in Appendix I of this work.

CHAPTER XII

SYMBOLS, METROLOGY, PALÆOGRPHY AND HOARDS

Topics like symbols, metrology and palæography could not be conveniently discussed before a detailed description of the Gupta coins was given. We therefore propose to discuss them in the concluding chapter, adding also a section on Gupta hoards.

1. SYMBOLS

The term 'symbol' is conventionally used to denote a small geometric type of drawing occurring on the reverse of Gupta coins[1] and consisting of a circle or parallelogram, usually hanging down from a line with a number of prongs or dots above it. Some early writers like Smith had used the term monogram to denote this drawing, as it bears a striking resemblance to the monograms occurring on the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins, where they are obvious combinations of Greek or Kharoshṭhi letters. It is, however, hardly possible to interpret any symbol on the Gupta coins as a combination of Gupta letters. We therefore prefer to call this drawing a symbol.

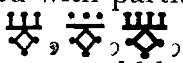
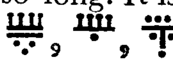
It may be stated at the outset that the symbols occur only on gold coins, and never on silver or copper ones. There is usually one symbol on a coin, though on the coins of the early emperors like Chandragupta I and Samudragupta, a second

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1. According to Smith, coin No. 688 of the Bodleian Collection, which is a Standard type coin of Samudragupta, has  on the reverse and  on the obverse (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 30). This is the only Gupta coin having a symbol on the obverse, and it may have been due to a mistake of the engraver.

one also makes its appearance on about 15% of their issues. The second symbol is usually simpler in composition, cf. Λ, ⅄, Δ. This practice survived on some rare varieties of the Archer type of Chandragupta II, but was later given up. The usual place for the symbol is the upper left corner of the reverse; the second symbol, when engraved, occupies the upper right corner. If the place of the symbol is usurped by an object in the hand of the deity, it is sometimes shifted to the middle of the coin, lower down, as on the coins of Kācha (**Pl. IV. 1-4**) and on the Apratigha type of Kumāragupta I (**Pl. XIV. 1-3**). The shifting of the symbol to the upper right corner on the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I (**Pl. XIII. 3-5**) was an unusual procedure. In several cases, however, the symbol was dropped altogether, when it was not possible to accommodate it in its proper place. Thus, for instance, the top of the *sūchi* and the crescent-topped banner trespass on the usual place of the symbol in the Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types (**Pl. III. 6-8, 13-14**) of Samudragupta; it is, therefore, dropped altogether from them. Lotus or bunch of grapes in the hand of the goddess renders the engraving of the symbol difficult in its usual place in several types like Couch type, var. A, of Chandragupta II (**Pl. IX. 1**), King and Queen (**Pl. XIV. 4**) and Elephant-rider (**Pl. XII. 14-15**) types of Kumāragupta I and most of his varieties of the Horseman type (**Pls. X-XI**); it is, therefore, omitted altogether there. Symbol does not make its appearance on the Lyrist type, Var. A, of Samudragupta (**Pl. III. 15-16**) and on several coins of the Horseman type of Chandragupta II (**Pl. VIII. 3-5**), though its place is empty there. This procedure can be explained perhaps on the assumption that the artists, who engraved these dies, had an aversion for symbols.

In the earlier reigns, however, symbols usually exercised a great fascination over the Gupta artists, who introduced several varieties of them. In the later reigns the diversity of symbols disappears with the diversity of types.

After making a close and exhaustive study of the problem published elsewhere,[1] the present writer has come to the conclusion that the symbols do not appear to have possessed any particular significance. The symbols on the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinage are usually combinations of Greek or Kharoshṭhī letters. Such is not the case either with the Kushāṇa or the Gupta symbols. Gondopharnes had a symbol peculiar to himself; each of the Great Kushāṇa emperors had only one or two symbols upon his coins, which to some extent may be regarded as peculiar to him. But no symbol can be regarded as peculiar to any Gupta king with the only exception of Prakāśāditya. In the case of the early Gupta emperors we have a very large number of symbols associated with each, and many of them are continued by their successors. This circumstance renders the theory of the symbols being associated with particular mint-master also improbable; symbols like  etc. persist through several reigns. No mint-master could have lived so long. It is, however, possible that some rare symbols like  and  which appear on solitary or rare coins, may be the choice of particular artists. If so, we cannot identify them. The theory of particular symbols being associated with particular mint cities is difficult to prove. There is no evidence to connect a particular symbol with a particular city. Some coins have two symbols; were they partly minted in one city and partly in another ? Smith's theory[2] that the symbols had some religious significance does also not appear as a probable one. The goddesses on the coins of Chandragupta I and Chandragupta II are most probably Durgā and Lakshmī respectively, but they have no Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols associated with them. Kārtikeya type was certainly issued in honour of that deity; but it bears no Śaiva symbol. *Śaṅkha* and

1. Altekar, A.S., *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, pp. cxxxi-cli.

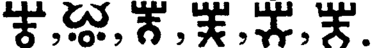
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 33.

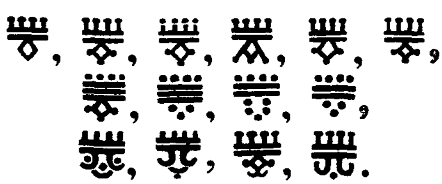
chakra sometimes appear in the field, but not as, or in the place of, symbols.

Nor can the symbols be regarded as auspicious signs, because none of them is known as such either to tradition or to literature. It may be added that Svastika, lotus or conch, which are known to be auspicious, do not occur on Gupta coins among their symbols.

It has been argued[1] that the symbols may denote the total number of coins of a particular type issued in a particular mint operation by conventional signs, a line denoting 20 and a dot one. There is no evidence for this assumption. If it were true, the Archer type of Chandragupta II, issued in mass quantity, should have had most complex symbols; but such is not the case. The symbol on the unique Chakravikrama type  would suggest that eighty-three coins were issued in the mint operation; why should we have got only one specimen of it so far ?

Nor can we regard the symbols as giving the date of issue by some conventional numbers. Dates of issue, when given on the silver coins, use the well known Gupta numerals and not any conventional ones. It is also doubtful whether dates were given on any Kushāṇa or Gupta gold coins.

The Kushāṇa gold coinage shows only a few symbols,  It appears most probable that the early Gupta mint-masters regarded these symbols on their prototype as merely decorative elements which they were free to diversify in any artistic way they liked. This theory alone can explain the following divergence in the symbols :—

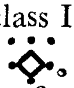
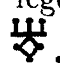
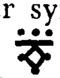


1. *J.N.S.I.*, XI, p. 111.

Chandragupta I issued coins probably for a short period and yet there are eight symbols on his coins. On the coins of Samudragupta, there are about 25 different symbols; on those of Chandragupta II their number increases to about 40.

Early Gupta emperors had issued several types, varieties and sub-varieties of gold coins, but particular symbols do not appear to be associated with particular types and varieties. The coins of the Archer type of Samudragupta are very few, and yet they show two different symbols  and  In the Archer type, class II, var. E, of Chandragupta II, there are 18 coins, but five different symbols. There are only five coins of the Couch type of Chandragupta II and they show two different symbols. It is only in the case of var. C of the Standard type of Samudragupta that we see one and the same symbol  throughout.

During the reign of Kumāragupta I, a tendency arose to discourage diversity in the forms of symbols. His Archer type was issued in mass quantity, and yet the symbols it shows are only half a dozen.

Out of the seven varieties of the Horseman type, only two, class II, vars. B and D show the symbol. It is uniformly one and the same in class II, var. B, viz.  ; in class II, var. D we have usually  The variety A of the class II of the Lion-slayer type of this ruler with the legend *Sākshādiva narasiṅhaḥ* has one and the same symbol  The coins of the rare types of Kumāragupta I have particular symbols of their own. The Swordsman type has the symbol  and the Rhinoceros-slayer type  But these symbols cannot be described as being specially associated with particular types; for the symbol  occurs not only on the Swordsman type, but also on the Chhatra and Apratigha types. The coins of Skandagupta usually show one of the two symbols,  and  It is the former of these symbols which alone appears on the coins of Ghaṭotkachagupta, Budhagupta and Kumāragupta II. The coins of Narasiṁhagupta have also this symbol

in addition to the cognate one . The coins of Prakāśāditya show a unique and original symbol  and none other.

The reverse with one symbol in the upper left corner is the usual feature on Gupta gold coins. We shall now enumerate below the exceptions.

1. A symbol occurs on the obverse also of a coin of the Standard type of Samudragupta in the Bodleian collection (No. 688) in addition to a symbol occurring on the reverse. See however the Addenda.
2. Two symbols occur on the reverse, one in the upper left corner and the other in the upper right one on the following coins:—
   (*a*) Chandragupta I; some coins; (**Pl. I. 8**).
   (*b*) Samudragupta; the Standard type, about 15% coins.[1]
   (*c*) Chandragupta II, Archer type, Class I, var. b, one coin; (**Pl. IV. 10**).
   (*d*) Kumāragupta I, Horseman type, var. D, some coins; (**Pl. IX. 12-13**).
3. On the following coin-types, there is no symbol on the reverse, its place being usurped by some other object.
   (*a*) Samudragupta, Aśvamedha type; **Pl. III. 6-8.**
   (*b*) Samudragupta, Tiger-slayer type; **Pl. III. 13-14.**
   (*c*) Chandragupta II, Archer type, class II, var. H; **Pl. V. 7.**
   (*d*) Chandragupta II, Couch type, var. A; **Pl. III. 15-16.**
   (*e*) Chandragupta II, King and Queen type, Queen's head occupying the place of the symbol; **Pl. IX. 6.**
   (*f*) Chandragupta II, Lion-slayer type, a few coins; **Pl. VI. 8, 13.**
   (*g*) Chandragupta II, half-*Dīnāra*; **Pl. V. 13.**
   (*h*) Kumāragupta I, Lion-slayer type, var. A; **Pl. XII. 1.**

1. Not illustrated in our plates; see *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. I. 1-4; *C.C. B.H.*, I. 14., II. 2.

(*i*) Kumāragupta I, Archer type, class III, var. C; **Pl. X. 4-5.**

(*j*) Kumāragupta I, Horseman type, class I, vars. A-D, class II, var. A; **Pl. X. 11-15, XI. 1-8.**

(*k*) Kumāragupta I, Aśvamedha type; **Pl. XIII. 7-10.**

(*l*) Kumāragupta I, King-and-Queen type; **Pl. XIV. 4.**

(*m*) Kumāragupta I, Elephant-rider type; **Pl. XII. 14-15.**

(*n*) Kumāragupta I, Elephant-rider Lion-slayer type; **Pl. XII. 1-2.**

(*o*) Kumāragupta I, Lyrist type; **Pl. XIV. 5.**

4. On the following types, there is no symbol, though its place is empty on the coin.

(*a*) Samudragupta, Lyrist type, var. A; **Pl. III. 15-16.**

(*b*) Chandragupta II, Chhatra type, var. B; **Pl. VIII. 10.**

(*c*) Chandragupta II, Horseman type, class II, some coins; **Pl. VIII. 3, 5.**

(*d*) Chandragupta II, Lion-slayer type, some coins; **Pl. VI. 8, 13-14; Pl. VII. 1, 4.**

(*e*) Kumāragupta I, Horseman type, class I, var. C; **Pl. X. 14-15.**

(*f*) Kumāragupta I, Kārtikeya (Peacock) type; **Pl. XIII. 11-12.**

5. On the following coin-types, the symbol is shifted to the centre of the left side:—

(*a*) Kācha, var. A; **Pl. IV. 1-4.**

(*b*) Kumāragupta I, Lion-slayer type, var. D; **Pl. XII. 6.**

(*c*) Kumāragupta I, Apratigha type; **Pl. XV. 1-3**

(*d*) Budhagupta, one coin; **Pl. XV. 8.**

The symbols occurring on Gupta coins are all shown on **Pl. XXVII.**

2. METROLOGY

We have already made several general and detailed observations about the metrology of the different types and

varieties of the coins issued by the Gupta emperors, while discussing and describing them in the preceeding pages. It is, however, necessary to treat the subject in a connected manner in order to understand it properly.

The reader of this book must have been surprised to learn of the wide variations in weight in the specimens of the same type or variety, that we have met with. The weight of the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta, which are well preserved, varies between 112 to 121 grains. In the Archer type of Chandragupta II, some coins weigh 127, some 124 and some 121 grains. The weights of the coins tend to increase with each successive reign. In modern times, we are not accustomed to such phenomena. The weight of the Indian rupee has not changed between 1856 and 1956, though there were five different kings or authorities who issued them. Further, all the coins that are issued by a state meticulously follow the standard prescribed for the currency. No two dollars or pounds or rupees would be found to be varying from each other in their weight. Modern mint-authorities are very particular in seeing to it that all coins issued from the mint do conform to the precise prescribed standard. If any piece is found to be deficient or excessive in weight, it is condemned and melted down. It appears that the mint authorities of ancient times, whether of India or Rome or Greece, were not very meticulous about the weights of the pieces they sent into circulation. Well preserved gold coins of the Kushāṇas and the Guptas often vary in weight between 118 and 122 grains. The gold *aurei* of Julius Cæser vary in weight between 121 to 125 grains. The theoretical weight of the Greek silver drachm was 67.2 grains, but the silver issues of Demetrius in this denomination vary from 55 to 61 grains and those of Eucratides from 52 to 67 grains.

It seems that in the absence of the modern scientific means of weighing, it was not easy to issue from mints pieces, which would be all accurately uniform in weight. The difference

of a grain or two was probably overlooked. Gold coins were offered in exchange only on rare occasions; it is not unlikely that each one of them might have been weighed by the recipient on such occasions in order to satisfy himself about its precise weight. It may be added that till the middle of the last century, a goldsmith used to assist the village *patwari* in assessing the values of different type of rupees and other coins that were offered by the ryots in payment of the land revenue.

We have shown already how Gupta gold coinage was considerably influenced by the Kushāṇa prototype, and its metrology was no exception. The traditional weight of the ancient Indian gold coin (*suvarṇa*) was 80 *rattis* or about 144 grains. Chandragupta I, who started the Gupta coinage, did not care to revive this ancient standrad, but contented himself by following the Kushāṇa standard of 120 or 121 grains, which in its turn was based upon the weight of the Roman gold coin *aureus*, normally weighing 121 grains. All well-preserved coins of Chandragupta I weigh between 120 and 121 grains. The vast majority of the coins of Samudragupta follow the same standard.

The reader of this work must have noticed that we have often referred to the standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains being followed in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. It may well be asked whether these were three different weight standards or only accidental variations in weight due to the admitted carelessness of the mint-masters in fixing the weights. We think that the former alternative is likely to be the more correct one in view of the circumstanace that some varieties are seen to be rigidly conforming to one of these standards. Thus in the Archer type of Chandragupta II, all the coins of class I, where the goddess is seated on a throne, weigh in the vicinity of 121 grains; there are none which weigh 123 or 124 or 126 or 127 grains. All the coins of this type, where the king holds a sword by his side, are seen to weigh about 126 or 127 grains. All the coins of Kumāragupta I

of the Archer type, class I, var. A, where the king holds the bow at the top, weigh about 124 grains; there are none which weigh in the vicinity of either 121 or 127 grains. It is therefore reasonable to assume that there were three different weight standards in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I; why this should have been the case, we are not in a position to explain.

Chandragupta II issued coins to three weight standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains. Of these 121 grains standard was most popular; about 80% coins were issued to it. In the reign of Kumāragupta I the standard of 121 grains became scarce. About 10% of his coins were issued to the standard of 121 grains, about 15% to the standard of 124 grains and about 75% to the standard of 127 grains. In the reign of Skandagupta, all these standards were given up; his King-and-Lakshmī type and one variety of the Archer type were issued to the standard of 130 or 132 grains, while his second variety of the Archer type was issued to the standard of about 144 grains, which is identical with the ancient Indian *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *rattis*.

We are not yet able to explain why the weight standard of the gold currency should be gradually increasing from reign to reign in the above fashion. It is possible to agrue that gold was becoming cheaper in terms of silver, and hence the state felt compelled to give a progressively bigger gold coin to its subjects. There is, however, no evidence to show that gold was thus actually getting cheaper; it may be also doubted whether the gold currency was so accurately adjusted to the prices of silver in ancient times.

The other possible explanation is that the government wanted to replace the foreign standard of 121 grains by the indigenous standard of 144 grains. This is quite a plausible view, but one wonders why the government found it necessary to take about 75 years to achieve this desideratum. It could have introduced the national standard all at once, without

going through the intermediate stages of 124, 127, 132 grains. It may be pointed out that the jump from 132 grains to 144, taken by Skandagupta, was quite a big one. Why was not a leap of a double the magnitude taken at an earlier stage ?

There is no doubt that the heavy weight standard of the later Guptas was intended to conform to the *suvarṇa* standard. But what was given by one hand was cleverly taken away by the other. The coins of the early Guptas contained an alloy of 10%, as has been observed by Cunnigham. A coin of 125 grains would thus contain about 113 grains of pure gold. The coins of Skandagupta, Budhgupta, Prakāśāditya, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II (of the purer varieties) contain an alloy of about 25%. So their coins weighing about 150 grains also contained only 113 grains of pure gold.

It is usually assumed that the strained condition of the imperial treasury was responsible for the adulteration of the Gupta gold currency. This does not seem to have been the case. It is forgotten that every gold coin in ancient India was accepted at its real value and not at its face value. The state in ancient India was not bound to issue coins; many governments did not issue them at all. I believe that the heavier alloy of 25% in the coins of the later Gupta emperors was due to the desire to have a coin of the traditional weight of *suvarṇa*, but giving only 112 grains of gold as before.

It is only in the case of class II of Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II that the coinage can be said to have been heavily adulterated. They contain only 54% gold; i. e. instead of giving 112 grains of gold, their coins give only about 75 or 80 grains. The currency of Vishṇugupta is still baser; it contains only 43% gold, i. e. only about 62 grains of gold. Why these rulers issued so heavily adulterated currency, we do not know. Possibly they ruled over very small kingdoms or were going through critical times.

Before we proceed to make our remarks about metrology of the coins of individual rulers, we have to consider the

case of some Gupta coins of abnormally low weight, with which we come across almost in every reign. These coins weigh between 95 and 110 grains and many of them are quite in good condition, showing no trace of any use and wear. They could hardly have lost a couple of grains due to the letter cause. The Bayana hoard contained about 12 such coins, e.g. Nos. 48, 55, 89, 108, 138, 150, 184, 186, 196, 579, etc. The British Museum has also got a few specimens of this light variety, e. g. Nos. 5, 34, etc. It is not easy to explain the abnormally low weight of these coins. The weight of some of them would be 4/5 of the normal gold coin. But we have usually a half or a quarter denomination, but never a four-fifth denomination.

We have seen already how the weight of a coin was not rigidly fixed, and how it could vary to the extent of a quarter or half a grain. Let us suppose that gold sufficient for the minting 50 coins to the standard of 121 grains was handed to the mint authorities and about 30 of these coins were issued half a grain heavier in weight. The last coin which we may for the sake of convenience call the 'remainder' coin, would have a flan of 105 grains only. It would appear that most of the low weight coins weighing between 95 and 112 grains were 'remainder' coins of this nature.

Conversely if a dozen coins in a minting operation issuing coins of 127 grains standard were under-weight by half a grain each, the 'remainder' coin will be a heavy piece of 133 grains. The rare coins of Chandragupta II, weighing about 133 or 134 grains, are probably to be explained by this assumption.

We shall now make brief observations about the metrology of the different types and varieties of the Gupta coinage.

The coins of Chandragupta I follow the standard of 121 grains. The same seems to be the case with more than 80% of the coins of Samudragupta. Most of his coins of the Battle-axe type, the Archer type, the Lyrist type, smaller variety, and the Tiger-slayer type conform to the 121 grains standard,

The same is the case with the vast majority of the coins of the Standard type. But quite a pretty number of the coins of the Standard and the Aśvamedha types are seen to weigh in the vicinity of 115 and 118 grains. It appears that there were issued some coins to these two lighter weight standards as well. Why he should have done so, we do not know.

In the reign of Chandragupta II, the above two lighter weight standards were give up; coins were issued to three weight standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains.

In the Archer type class I, Throne reverse, all the coins follow the standard of 121 grains. In the Archer type, class II, Lotus reverse, 65% coins follow the 121 grains standard, 20% follow the standard of 127 grains, and 15% of 124 grains. In some varieties of this class, only one definite standard is followed. Thus in class II, vars. D, G, I and J the standard of 121 grains is followed and in var. F that of 127 grains. In the Chhatra type 90% coins follow the 121 grains standard and about 10% that of 124 grains. In the Horseman type all the three standards are adopted; about 75% follow 121 grains standard, 15% follow 124 grains standard and 10% 127 grains standard. In Lion-slayer type 85% follow the 121 grains standard, 15% the 124 grains standard and 5% the 127 grains standard. The Couch type follows the standard of 121 grains. The Standard type weighs 118 grains and the King-and-Queen-on-the-Couch type weighs 112 grains. The latter is probably due to its worn out condition; a new specimen in normal condition, recently discovered, weighs 118.2 grains.

In the reign of Kumāragupta I, the standard af 121 grains becomes rare and the standard of 127 grains becomes popular. In the Horseman type more than 90% of the coins follow the 127 grains standard, 8%, 124 grains standard and 2%, 121 grains standard. The same is the case with the Lion-slayer, Tiger-slayer and the Kārtikeya types. In the Rhinoceros-slayer, King-and-Queen, Chhatra, Lyrist, Aśvamedha, Elephant-rider and Lion-slayer types, most of the coins follow the

127 grains standard; by way of rare exception, we sometimes get a piece of 124 grains standard.

The coins of the class I, var. A of the Archer type (where the bow is held at the top) usually follow the standard of 124 grains. In class I, var. B, where the king holds the bow by the middle, 85% coins follow the 121 grains standard, 10% the 127 grains standard and 5% the 124 grains standard. Variety C of class I, with the legend *Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ*, generally follows the light standard of 121 grains.

Skandagupta abandoned all these weight standards and adopted the standard of 132 grains for his King-and-Lakshmī type and Var. A of the Archer type. In variety B of the latter, he adopted the national *suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains. Most of his successors accepted the *suvarṇa* standard introduced by him and issued coins weighing between 142 to 146 grains. Recently some of the coins of these later rulers were asseyed in the British Museum, and if the coins selected were the representative ones, it appears that the gold contents of the coins of Narasiṁhagupta, class I, Kumāragupta, class I, Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Prakāśāditya were 71,79,77, 73 and 77% respectively. Coins of Narasimhagupta, class II, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta are heavily adulterated; their gold contents are 54, 54 and 43% respectively.

The Gupta epigraphs show that the gold coins of the dynasty were usually known as *Dīnāras*; it is likely that the later coins of the heavier weight were known as *Suvarṇas*.

Sub-multiples like half or quarter *Dīnāras* were rarely issued from the royal mints. So far we have discovered only one half-*Dīnāra* weighing 57.6 grains. No quarter *Dīnāra* or double-*Dīnāra* has so for been discovered. Quarter-*Dīnāras* were frequently issued by Kanishka and Huvishka and some rare double-*Dīnāras* of Wima Kadphises are known.

The metrology of the silver coins of the dynasty calls for only a few remarks. They were issued to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the Kshatrapa silver currency

and naturally follow its weight standard of 30 grains. Their theoretical weight was probably 33 grains, which was equal to half a Greek drachm. Here also the weights vary between 27 and 34 grains, due partly to the wear and use and partly to the carelessness of the mint-masters.

The copper currency apparently follows no definite weight standard. It is not in the least influenced by the Kushāṇa weight standard of the copper currency, nor by the metrology of the Pañchāla or Kauśāmbī or Mathurā coin-types. Some coins weigh 87 grains, some 57, some 49, some 44, some 35, some 25 and some 18 grains. One can hardly detect any denomination scheme in this weight system.

3. PALAEOGRAPHY.

In the Gupta coin legends the letters usually display the same norms which are seen in the contemporary lithic records. The normal forms of letters, however, often get compressed on coin flans owing to the want of adequate space. This frequently happens on the Gupta silver coins, where *ga* often loses its left limb and *ka* its horizontal line; *ta* and *na* often dwindle into a vertical line. We shall make a few observations about the normal form of Gupta characters.

Owing to typographical difficulties it did not become possible to give each coin legend in its original letters at the place where the coin on which it occurs is described in the book. All the coin legends have, however, been given in their original script in plates **XX-XXVI**, and a reference to the place of each legend in the plate has also been given at the appropriate place in the book to enable the reader to find out the place of each legend in order to study its characters. Facing each legend-plate is a page giving the rendering of its legends in the Devanāgarī and Roman characters. This will facilitate their study and decipherment.

The reader will notice a stylistic difference in the forms of letters as they occur on plates **XX-XXIV** on the one

hand and on plates **XXV-XXVI** on the other. In the first five plates, Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, who kindly prepared them at my request, has tried to give the actual form of the letters as seen on the Gupta coins of the Bayana hoard. The last two plates copy the forms of the letters as they are given in the plates published by Mr. Allan in the *B.M.C., G.D.* Mr. Allan has idealised the forms of the Gupta letters, prepared their types and then composed the legends in them. The two types of plates will enable the reader to visualise both the actual and idealised or generalised forms of Gupta characters.

The well known characteristics of the Gupta script can be seen in the coin legends. *A*, k*a* and *ra* have a long vertical; it is but rare that this vertical develops a tail (**Pl. XXIV. 69**). The veriticals of *gha*, *pa*, *ya*, *la* and *sa* dwindle down almost to the same height as the limbs on the right or left. The left limbs of *ga* and *śa* become shorter than the right ones and develop a scrif at the bottom. The letters *ma*, *la*, *sha*, *sa*, and *ha* show two forms in the lithic records, the so-called eastern and the western ones. From among these letters the coin legends show both the forms in the case of *ma* and *ha* only. The eastern forms of *sa*, *la* and *sha* do not appear on the coins. The so-called eastern forms for *ma* or *ha* appear on some coins of the Battle-axe[1] and the Archer[2] types, and on the variety A of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta,[3] on some coins of Kācha[4] and on all the coins of class I of the Chhatra type of Chandragupta II.[5] It is interesting to note that on several coins, the so-called eastern and western forms of *ma* appear together,[6] one on the obverse and the other on the reverse. This would tend to show that both the forms were current in the same locality and had no special territorial significance. It is necessary to add that the eastern forms of *ma* and *ha* become rare in the reign of Chandragupta II and disappear in later reigns altogether.

1. **Pl. III. 3-4.** 2. **Pl. II. 12-14.** 3. **Pl. III. 15.**
4. **Pl. IV. 1-2.** 5. **Pl. VIII. 6.** 6. **Pl. I. 15.**

We shall now make a few remarks about individual letters. The right limb of *a* is angular in some cases[1] and round in others;[2] in rare cases its vertical develops a tail.[3] *U* shows a pronounced loop in its lower limb.[4] The vertical of *ka* is long and its horizontal line straight; but sometimes owing to want of space, the horizontal line changes into two lines meeting the vertical at acute angles.[5] *Kha* has a triangular base.[6] *Ga* and *gha* have been already commented upon. The letter *ṅa* appears only as the first part of the conjunet *ṅha*; it is like *ja* without the central horizontal line.[7] The form of *cha*[8] is the usual one, while *chha* is of the butter-fly type.[9] The horizontal lines of *ja* sometimes show a slight tendency towards becoming slanting.[10] The letters *jha*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭha*, *ḍhh*, *pha*, *sha* and *jña* do not appear in the legends. The letter *ḍa* is of the usual type.[11] The bipartite form of the letter *ṇa* is rather rarely used,[12] probably because it required more space; the letter usually shows one vertical with one horizontal line above and another below.[13] The letter *ta* is without a loop and its right limb is often longer than the left one;[14] sometimes the top vertical is omitted.[15] *Tha* is usually a circle,[16] but sometimes it opens at the top.[17] *Da* opens to right and *dha* shows the semicircle to the left.[18] The letter *na* has usually a loop in the left limb;[19] it is dispensed with only on rare occassions.[20] The letter *ba* is a square[21] and the right lower limb of *bha* is usually slightly angular.[22] The letter *ma* has four forms. Its lower limb shows sometimes a triangle[23] and sometimcs a circle.[24] In its third form the two upper lines are seen to meet the

1. Pl. XV. 9-10.
2. Pl. XXIII. 45.
3. Pl. XXIV. 69.
4. Pl. XV. 14.
5. Pl. XXIII. 41.
6. Pl. XXII. 36.
7. Pl. XXI. 17.
8. Pl. XX. 1.
9. Pl. XXIII. 43.
10. Pl. XX. 3.
11. Pl. XXII. 36.
12. Pl. XXV. 7.
13. Pl. XXI. 17.
14. Pl. XX. 3.
15. Pl. XXIII. 42.
16. Pl. XX. 4.
17. Pl. XX. 9-10.
18. Pl. XX. 4-5.
19. Pl. XX. 1.
20. Pl. XXIV. 68.
21. Pl. XXII. 35.
22. Pl. XXII. 35.
23. Pl. XX. 3-4.
24. Pl. XVII. 4-5.

lower one at two different points,[1] and in its fourth form, these lines meet the lower one at one point.[2] *Ya* is usually tripartite,[3] both its limbs being usually denoted by a curve. From the reign of Kumāragupta I, we begin to get a *ya*, where the left limb curve tends to become a straight line in continuation of the base line.[4] *Ra* is a long straight line, but the vertical of *la* dwindles in height.[5] *Va* has usually a triangular base,[6] but on rare occassions it becomes a circular one.[7] *Śa* has usually a round back with a horizontal line joining its two arms, of which the right one is longer than the left one.[8] The letter *sha* appears only in the conjunct *ksha*; it is like *pa* with a horizontal line, which does not always join its two limbs.[9] Both loops of *sa* are well formed and its vertical dwindles in height.[10] Besides its usual form, the letter *ha* shows the eastern one also where the base line is suppressd.[11]

The medial *ā* is denoted by a line slanting upwards and attached to the top of the letter;[12] in rare cases it is horizontal and separated from the letter; cf. *Kācha* and *rūpākṛiti*.[13] Medial *i* is denoted by a short curve to left[14] and *ī* by a similar curve to right.[15] The latter, however, is more frequently denoted by a curve opening upwards. The medial *u* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical line as in *pu* and *su*,[16] sometimes by a curve attached to the right limb and opening high upwards as in *gu* and *śu*,[17] and sometimes by a curve opening to right as in *ku*.[18]

The medial long *ū* is denoted merely by the elongation of the vertical in one place, where it occurs; probably a short horizontal stroke has not come out here.[20] The medial *e*[21] is

1. Pl. I. 15. 2. Pl. I. 8. 3. Pl. XX. 3-4.
4. Pl. XXI. 23. 5. Pl. XXI. 21. 6. Pl. XXI. 4-5.
7. Pl. XXII. 35. 8. Pl. XX. 3.
9. Pl. XXI. 14; Pl. XXII. 25. 10. Pl. XX. 3.
11. Pl. XXIII. 27; Pl. XX. 12. 12. Pl. XX. 12.
13. Pl. IV. 1; IX. 1. 14. Pl. VII. 1. 15. Pl. XX. 5.
16. Pl. XXV. 2, 11. 17. Pl. XX. 3, 9. 18. Pl. XX. 7.
19. Pl. XXII. 31. 20. Pl. XXIII. 40. 21. Pl. XX. 12.

shown by a short slanting stroke to left and *ai* by two such strokes on the same side.[1] Medial *o* is indicated by two strokes, one slanting to right and the other to left.[2] The medial *ṛi* is denoted sometimes by a curve open to right[3] and sometimes by one open to left.[4] Sometimes there is a great flourish in the former;[5] sometimes it is denoted by a short curve open upwards.[6] In one case the engraver has committed the mistake of combining both the medial *i* and *ṛi* vowels[7] in the word *pṛithivī*. It is obvious that in the Gupta age, as now, *pṛithivī* was pronounced as *prithivī*.

Only a few conjuncts deserve to be mentioned here. In most of the conjuncts like *ṅha*, *pta*, *nta*, *tva*, *ksha*, *tta*, *jja*, *nva*, *ska*, *mba*, *sva*, *dgh*, the normal full forms of both the letters are distinct, but usually with only one common vertical. The subscript *ra* is usually denoted either by a line[8] or a curve[9] attached to left. The subscript *ya* is usually bipartite.[10] The superscript *ra* is denoted by a short vertical line attached to the top of the letter.[11]

The *halanta n* occurs in one legend at the end and is denoted by the usual letter, but written in a smaller size.[12] In the legend *Śrīmān vyāghrabalaparākramaḥ*, it is denoted by an *anusvāra*.[13]

4. HOARDS AND FINDS

We shall give in this section a brief account of the hoards and finds of Gupta coins discovered so far. All of them are hoards of gold coins. A few hoards of silver Gupta coins are known to have been found in Western India, but no detailed accounts of theirs have been preserved.

1. Pl. XX. 11. 2. Pl. Ibid. 3. Pl. XXIII. 7. 4. Pl. XXI. 24. 5. Pl. XX. 4. 6. Pl. XX. 5. 7. Pl. XXI. 23. 8. Pl. XXIV. 55. 9. Pl. XXIV. 56. 10. Pl. XX. 5. 11. Pl. XX. 7, 9. 12. Pl. XXII. 35. 13. Pl. XXII. 35.

1. The Kālighāṭ hoard[1] found in 1783 at Kālighāṭ on the eastern bank of the Hugli near Calcutta is the earliest recorded hoard of Gupta coins. No information is available about the exact contents of this hoard, but Nab Kishen, its discoverer, seems to have presented about 200 of its coins to Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India. These coins were later sent to the Directors of the East India Company London, who presented 24 of them to the British Museum, nearly an equal number to the Museum of Mr. Hunter, and some pieces to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and to the Public Library at Cambridge. The remaining pieces were eventually melted down by the Directors in a mercenary fit. To judge from the extant specimens of this hoard, it appears that it consisted mostly of the issues of the later Gupta emperors.

2. The Bharsar hoard,[2] discovered in 1851 near Banaras, consisted of 160 coins; but we have an account of only 32 of them. Coins of the emperors from Samudragupta to Skandagupta were found in the hoard. Prakāśāditya was the last king represented in it. The analysis of these 32 coins is as follows:—

Samudragupta	:	Standard type	...	1
,,		Archer type	...	3
,,		Lyrist type	...	2
Chandragupta II	:	Archer type	...	8
,,		Horseman type	...	2
Kumāragupta I	:	Archer type	...	2
,,		Horseman type	...	4
,,		Tiger-slayer type	...	1
,,		Peacock (Kārtikeya type)...		1
Skandagupta	:	Archer type	...	6
Prakāśāditya	:	Horseman-lion-slayer type		2
			Total	32

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, pp. cxxiv; *B.H.*, pp. iv-v.
2. *B.M.C., G.D.*, cxxvi-vii; *J.A.S.B.* 1852, pp. 390-400., *B.H.*, p. v.

3. The Hugli hoard,[1] found near Hugli in 1883, consisted of 13 coins, classified as follows: —

Samudragupta	:	Standard type	...	1
Chandragupta II	:	Archer type	...	5
Kumāragupta I	:	Archer type	...	3
,,		Horseman type	...	3
,,		Lion-slayer type	...	1
			Total	13

4. The Tanda hoard[2] was found in Fyzabad district in Uttar Pradesh in 1885, but its contents were not carefully noted. The hoard seems to have had the following coins:—

Chandragupta I	:	King-and-Queen type		2
Samudragupta	:	Standard type	...	5
,,		Aśvamedha type	...	Some coins.
,,		Battle-axe type	...	Some coins.
Kācha	:	Chakradhvaja type	...	Some coins.

5. The Kotwā hoard[3] was found in Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh in 1886, scattered below some bricks in a *dih*. The following kings and types were represented in it:—

Chandragupta II	:	Archer type, Lotus reverse	...	5
,,		Lion-slayer type	...	1
Kumāragupta I	:	Archer type with *Ku*	...	1
,,		Kārtikeya type	...	2
,,		Horseman type	...	6
,,		Lion-trampler type	...	1
,,		Unidentified	...	1
			Total	17

6. The Basti hoard[4] of 11 coins was found near the jail of that town in Uttar Pradesh in 1887. The 10 coins, which could

1. *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 152; *B.H.*, p. vi.
2. *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 68; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, cxxviii. *B.H.*, p. vi.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 47.
4. *Pr. A.S.B.*, 1887, p. 221.

be recovered, were the issues of Chandragupta II, nine of the Archer type, Lotus reverse, and one of the Chhatra type.

7. The Hajipur hoard[1] was discovered near the bazar of the town of that name in Bihar. It contained 22 coins, but only 14 could be recovered. They were as follows:—

Chandragupta I :	King-and-Queen type	...	1
Samudragupta :	Standard type	..	2
,,	Archer type	...	1
,,	Battle-axe type	.	1
Chandragupta II :	Archer type	...	3
,,	Chhattra type	...	3
,,	Lion-combatant type	...	3
		Total	14

8. The Tekri Debra hoard[2] was found in the Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh in 1912. It consisted of 40 coins:—

Samudragupta :	Standard type	..	2
,,	Battle-axe type	...	1
Chandragupta II :	Archer type	...	15
,,	Lion-slayer type	...	9
,,	Lion-retreating type	..	1
	Horseman type	...	8
Kumāragupta I :	Archer type	...	1
,,	Lion-slayer type	...	1
,,	Horseman type		2
		Total	40

9. The Kasarva hoard,[3] found in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh, consisted of the following coins:—

Samudragupta :	Standard type	...	12
,,	Aśvamedha type	...	3
,,	Battle-axe type	...	1
Kācha :	Chakradhvaja type	...	1
		Total	17

1. *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 57; *B.H.*, p. vii.
2. *Num. Ch.* 1910, pp. 398-408.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 174.

10. The Mithathal hoard[1] was found in 1915 in the Hissar district of the Punjab. It consisted both of the coins of the Guptas and of the later Kushāṇas. Unfortunately its contents could not be properly noted. It contained 86 coins, of which 26 were melted down. Of the remaining, 33 were the issues of Samudragupta and 27 of the later Kushāṇas. Among the former was a rare coin of the Battle-axe type, showing the king on the left and the attendant on the right.

11. Kumarkhan hoard[2] of 9 Gupta gold coins was found in that village in Viramgaon Taluka of Ahmadabad district in Gujarat in 1953. It consisted of one coin of the Battle-axe type ef Samudragupta, two coins of Kācha and seven Archer type coins of Chandragupta II. Among the latter, one had Throne reverse and on one the king was holding the bow by the middle.

12. Sakori hoard, discovered at Sakori in Damoh district of M. P. in 1914 and now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur, consisted of the following 24 coins[3]:—

Samudragupta	:	Standard type	7
Kācha	:	Chakradhvaja type	1
Chandragupta II	:	Archer type	11
,,		Horseman type	1
,,		Chhatra type	1
,,		Lion-slayer type	2
Skandagupta	:	Archer type, light weight	1
		Total	24

13. Before referring to the biggest hoard of the Gupta coins,—the Bayana hoard, we may dismiss a few hoards and finds of which only meagre details have been handed down.

(*a*) A hoard was found at Jaunpur in U. P. in a building popularly known as Jai Chandra's Mahal; it consisted of a small number of coins; no further details are known.[4]

1. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1915-16, Part I, p. 19; *Ibid*, 1926-27, pp. 233-4.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, XV., p. 195.
3. According to the information supplied by the Museum authorities.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 150.

(*b*) Gopalpur hoard found in Gorakhpur district of U. P. consisted of 20 pieces, of which 7 were of Chandragupta II.[1]

(*c*) Jhusi hoard found at Jhusi opposite Allahabad is said to have consisted of about 20 or 30 pieces, of which two were of the Archer and 8 of the Kārtikeya type of Kumāragupta II.[2]

(*d*) At Banka in Bhagalpur district of Bihar 4 Gupta coins were discovered in 1912, which were later acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Two of them belonged to Chandra-Gupta II and two to Kumāragupta I. Their types are not known.

(*e*) A hoard of Gupta coins was found in a mound on the bank of the Rapti; some of the coins in the collection of Hoey, which is now with Mr. D. G. Hamilton, were apparently from that hoard, according to the information supplied by the latter gentleman.

(*f*) At Pattan in Baitul district of M. P. a hoard was apparently discovered at an unrecorded date; one of its coins is now in the Central Museum, Nagpur.[3]

(*g*) At Devattha village in Ballia district of U. P. a big hoard was reported to have been found in *c*. 1940 A.D. consisting of more than a thousand Gupta gold coins. No coins however could be recovered; they were either melted down or concealed and later sold in the market.

14. The Bayana hoard was discovered under the embankment of a field in the village of Hullanpur near the town of Bayana in Rajasthan on the 17th of February, 1946. It apparently consisted of about 2,100 coins, but only 1821 of them could be recovered. These have been described by me in a detailed manner in *The Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins of the Bayana Hoard*, published in 1954. The hoard, as recovered, consisted of the following coins:—

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1. *J.A.S.B.*, p. 152; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893; p. 49.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, 1884; p. 152; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893; p. 49.
3. From information supplied by the Nagpur Museum authorities.

Chandragupta I : 10 coins

KING-AND-QUEEN TYPE			10

Samudragupta : 183 coins

STANDARD TYPE,	var. A,	legend beginning from I and *Samudra* under l. arm..	77
,,	var. B,	as above but with a crescent on obverse ...	16
,,	var. C,	small and neat fabric...	18
,,	var. D,	as in variety A, but legend beginning at VIII	25
,,	var. E,	as above, but with *Samudra* under l. arm and *gupta* outside ...	7
AŚVAMEDHA TYPE ...		... ...	20
BATTLE-AXE TYPE,	var. A,	with *Samudra* under left arm..	7
,,	var. B,	with *Kṛi* under l. arm...	2
ARCHER TYPE,	var. A,	legend ending with *sucharitairdivaṁ jayati* ...	2
,,	var. B,	legend ending with *avaniśo divaṁ jayati* ...	1
LYRIST TYPE,	var. A,	large size, without symbol and with foot-stool.	2
,,	var. B,	small size, with symbol but without foot-stool...	4
TIGER-SLAYER T.,	var. A,	different legends on both sides	1
,,	var. B,	with *Vyāghraparākramaḥ* on both sides.. ...	1

Kācha : 16 coins

CHAKRADHVAJA T.,	var. A,	without *Garuḍadhvaja* on the obv. ...	15

CHAKRADHVAJA T., var. B, with *Garuḍa* and *Chakradhvajas* on the obv. ...	1

Chandragupta II : 983 coins

ARCHER TYPE, class I; Throne reverse	
Var. A, with *Chandra* under l. arm	25
Var. B, with *Chandra* between the bow and the bow-string..	7
Var. C, bow-string outside...	1
Var. D, bow held at the middle	8
ARCHER TYPE, class II; Lotus rev.	
Var. A, *Chandra* under l. arm, bow held at the top, string outside	700
Var. B, as above, but king with whip also by his side	18
Var. C, as in var. A, but with sword.. ...	10
Var. D, obv. as in var. A, but goddess on rev. with l. foot tucked up	4
Var. E, obv. as in var. A, but no *Chandra* under l. arm	1
Var. F, obv. as in var. A, but legend *Chandragupta* on rev.	1
Var. G, bow in r. hand and arrow in l., king looking l.	2
Var. H, bow in l. hand, but king looking r. ...	17
Var. I, king standing r., bow in l. hand, held by the middle	4
HORSEMAN TYPE, class I, king to l.	
Var. A, king without any weapons	29
Var. B, king with sword	13
Var. C, king with bow	10
HORSEMAN TYPE, class II. king to r.	
king without any weapons	30
CHHATRA TYPE, class I, with legend, *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* ..	5

Chhatra type, class II, with legend, *Kshiti-mava-jitya sucharitairdivaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.*

Var. A, goddess standing facing on lotus ...	16
Var. B, goddess standing on pedestal ...	2
Var. C, goddess standing on mat, three-fourths to l.	17
Var. D, goddess walking to l.	16
Var. E, goddess double-marching	1

Lion-slayer type, class I, lion-combatant

Var. A, king facing l. and goddess holding lotus and noose	6
Var. B, king to r., and goddess with noose and lotus	10
Var. C, king to r., and goddess with lotus in l. hand, r. hand being empty	4
Var. D, king as above, but not stringing the bow	1

Lion-slayer type; class II, lion-trampling

Var. A, lion to l., goddess seated astride the lion	1
Var. B, king to l. and lion on rev. walking to r.	1
Var. C, king to l. and lion on rev. couchant ...	3
Var. D, king to l. with legend, *deva-śrīmahārāja ...śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*; goddess sitting on lion walking to r....	1
Var. E, king to r., and goddess seated facing on lion couchart, holding noose in r. hand and cornucopiæ in l.	2
Var. F, king to r.; goddess holds lotus in l. hand with r. hand empty	4
Var. G, king to r.; goddess seated astride on lion to l....	5
Var. H, king to r.; goddess holds noose in right hand and lotus in l., and lion walking to l.	

Lion-slayer type, class III, lion-retreating ...	1
Couch type	
Var. A, king to l., and offering a lotus bud ...	1
Var. B, king holding flower in r. hand; r. hand of goddess empty	1
Var. C, king holding flower in r. hand and goddess holding noose in r. hand ...	1
Chakravikrama type	1

Kumāragupta I : 628 coins

Archer type, class I; *Kumāra* in field	
Var. A, bow held at the top and *Kumāra* under l. arm	14
Var. B, bow held at the middle and *Kumāra* outside the bow-string	58
Var. C, same as var. B, but with legend *Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ*...	10
Archer type, class II, with *Ku* under l. arm	
Var. A, with legend *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*	33
Var. B, with legend, *Jayati mahītalamekaḥ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*	34
Var. C, with legend *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*	6
Archer type, class III, with neither *Kumāra* nor *Ku* in field	
Var. A, with legend *Parama-rājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*	27
Var. B, with legend, *Jayati mahītalaṁ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*	1
Swordsman type	10
Horseman type, class I, goddess alone on rev.	
Var. A, with legend, *Pṛithivītalāmbaraśaśī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ*	9
Var. B, with legend, *Jayati nṛiporibhirajitaḥ* ...	1

Var. C, with legend, *Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāra-gupto divaṁ jayati* 37

HORSEMAN T., cl. II, goddess feeding peacock

Var. A, with legend, *Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatya-jeyo jitamahendraḥ* 97

Var. B, with legend, *Guptakulāmalachandro mahe-ndrakarmājito jayati*... 83

Var. C, with legend, *Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāra-gupto jayatyajitaḥ* 69

Var. D, with legend as in var. C, but ending with *divaṁ jayati* 1

Var. E, with legend *Prithivītaleśvarendraḥ Kumāra-gupto jayatyajitaḥ* 8

KARTIKEYA TYPE

Var. A, Kārtikeya three-fourths to l... ... 10

Var. B, Kārtikeya facing 3

CHHATRA TYPE 2

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE

Var. A, with *Ku* in field 83

Var. B, without *Ku* in field... 3

LION-SLAYER TYPE, class I, lion-combatant

Var. A, with legend *Kumāragupto yudhi siṅha-vikramaḥ* 13

Var. B, with incomplete legend beginning with *Kumāra* 6

Var. C, with incomplete legend beginning with *Kshitipati*... 3

Var. D, king to l. and lion to r. 1

LION-SLAYER TYPE, class II, lion-trampler

Var. A, with legend, *Sākshādiva narasiṅhaḥ siṅha-mahendro jayatyaniśaṁ* 19

Var. B, legend beginning with *Kumāra* but in-complete; goddess holding a garland... 11

ELEPHANT-RIDER LION-SLAYER TYPE 4

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE 4

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE	
Var. A, caparisoned horse to r.	2
Var. B, bare horse to l.	2
ELEPHANT-RIDER TYPE.	3
LYRIST TYPE..	2
APRATIGHA TYPE	8
KING-AND-QUEEN TYPE	1

[Skandagupta] Kramāditya : 1 coin

CHHATRA TYPE	1

THE HOARD AT A GLANCE

NAME OF THE KING	NO. OF COINS
Chandragupta I	10
Samudragupta	183
Kācha	16
Chandragupta II	983
Kumāragupta I	628
[Skandagupta] Kramāditya	1
Grand Total	1821

The Bayana hoard is the biggest hoard of Gupta gold coins found and recovered so far, and we have the benefit of having its scientific catalogue, describing in minute detail each coin of the hoard, and giving its size, weight and legend. The plates publish the photographs of the obverse and reverse of 459 select coins of the hoard, beautifully reproduced in collotype plates. The lengthy introduction of the book discusses a number of important historical and technical points.

APPENDIX I

IMITATIONS OF THE GUPTA COINAGE

The Gupta coinage exercised considerable influence on the coinage of the later Hindu period. Some of the silver and copper types of the Hūṇas are close copies of some of the Gupta types. The coinage of the Maukharis and the Vardhanas is in close imitation of the silver coinage of the Guptas; even the legends are practically the same, only the name of the king changes. The Gadhaia coins and the Pratīhāra coins are too rude to show any Gupta influence, but the latter partially reasserted itself with the rise of the Western Chedis, the reverse of whose gold coinage shows the well-known motif of seated Lakshmī of the Gupta coinage. The coinage in the precious metals issued by the Eastern Chedis, the Chandellas, the Tomaras and the Gāhadavālas usually shows the motif of the seated Lakshṁī of the Gupta age on the reverse. Nay, she appears on a few gold coins of some Muslim conquerors like Mahmud bin Sam and Allauddīn Khilji.

A detailed discussion of the adoption of these Gupta motifs has naturally to be postponed to a subsequent volume of this series, which will deal with the post-Gupta coinages. There are, however, some stray rulers, mostly of unknown dynasties, ruling between *c.* 525 to 675 A. D. who issued coins in gold, silver and copper in close imitation of some of the Gupta types. These rulers did not belong to the Imperial Gupta dynasty, but it will be convenient to discuss their coinage in this Appendix, as it is influenced by Gupta coinage.

Bhīmarāja(?), Harigupta. Jayagupta, Vīrasena, Jaya(nāga), Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka and Bhīmavarman are the kings to be considered in this connection. Some rulers of Eastern Bengal also issued crude imitations of the Gupta gold coins,

showing standing king on the obverse and standing goddess on the reverse. These also will be considered in this Appendix.

(1) BHĪMARAJA (BHĪMASENA?)

Bhīmarāja is known to us from a single silver coin procured by Rivett-Carnac at Ayodhyā and published by Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. IX., Pl. V. 16. This coin is a close copy of the Madhyadeśa type of the silver coinage of Budhagupta. The obverse gives the usual bust of the king, but the head is to left and not to right, as on the coins of Budhagupta. The reverse has the fan-tailed peacock and the usual metrical legend substituting Bhīmarāja's name for that of Budhagupta. We have so far got no evidence to identify this ruler. His time may be between 500 and 550 A. D.

The reading Bhīmarāja is not free from difficulties. It occurs after VI and the first letter books like *bha* and the next one would be a *ma* of the eastern variety. The next two letters are taken as *sena* by Cunningham and Rapson, but to me they appear to be clearly *raja* i. e. *rāja*. The photograph given by Cunningham in *C.A.S.R.*, IX. Pl. V. 16. is too indistinct to permit the reading of the legend.

We now describe the coin.

Silver; .6″; 34.2 grains; *I.C.*, Pl. IV. 14.

Obv: Bust of the king to l.; no traces of Greek letters.

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock in the centre.
Circular legend, (XII) *Vijitāvaniravanipatiś-śrī-Bhīmarājo divaṁ jayati* (after restoration).

(Pl. XIXA. 1)

(2) HARIGUPTA

Harigupta is known from his copper coins only. Till recently, only one copper coin of this ruler was known, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In 1955, however, I noticed a few more coins of this ruler in the collection of Mr. J. Das of Allahabad. Mr. Das was the Manager of the Court of Wards in U. P. and collected most of his coins

from Ramnagar and the adjoining area. The solitary coin in the Indian Museum also hails from the same provenance.

The question of the identity of Harigupta is not easy to settle. His name suggests Gupta affiliation and one of his types, the Chhatra one, is in close imitation of the same type of the Imperial Guptas. But his gold coins have not yet come to light; it is therefore likely that he was a local ruler in Uttara-Pañchāla (Rohilkhand) ruling over a petty kingdom and not a scion of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

Hari is no doubt a synonym for Kṛishṇa and it is possible to argue that Harigupta of the copper coins may be identical with Kṛishṇagupta, the founder of the Later Gupta Dynasty of Magadha. The find-spot of his coins would not, however, favour this view. The sway of the Later Guptas never extended to Pañchāla. Harigupta has also to be distinguished from Hari-rāja, whose copper plate was discovered in Banaras in 1942.[1]

According to Jain tradition, Toramāṇa, who had his Indian headquarters at Pavaiyya on the Chenab, had a preceptor named Harigupta, who himself was a scion of the Gupta family.[2] This preceptor may well have been his political adviser rather than spiritual guide. The findspot of the coins of Harigupta in northern Pañchāla would suggest the possibility of the identity of Harigupta, the adviser of Toramāṇa, with Harigupta of these coins. If such was the case, we may regard Harigupta as a scion of a local Gupta family in northern Pañchāla, who had made a common cause with the Hūṇa invader. No definite identification, however, can be proposed in the present state of our knowledge. The palæography of his coins shows a survival of the eastern form of *ha* on the Kalaśa (Vase) type and his Chhatra type closely imitates that type of Chandragupta II; it may therefore be presumed that Harigupta could not have flourished later than the first half of the 6th century A. D.

1. *Pr. of the 12th Oriental Conference*, Banaras, p. 590.
2. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV. 28.

Harigupta issued copper coins in two types, Chhatra and Kalaśa. We now proceed to describe them.

CHHATRA TYPE

(2) Copper; .8″; 78 grains; J. Das's collection.

Obv: King standing to l., r. hand raised up, l. hand resting on hip; attendant behind holding umbrella; its staff can be seen above the r. shoulder of the king. No traces of any inscription.

Rev: Upper half : Garuḍa, probably with out-stretched wings; lower half: the legend in two lines, *Maha(ā)-rāja-śra(ī) Hara(i)ga(u)pta*; *ha* is of western form.

(Pl. XIXA. 2)

There is another coin of this type in the collection of Mr. Das, but it is very much blurred. Its weight is 85 grains.

This is a new type of Harigupta, not so far published any where. It is a copy of the Chhatra type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II; see **Pl. XVI. 10.** In both cases the obverse has standing figures of the king and the umbrella-bearer but no circular legend. The reverse of both has Garuḍa in the lower half. The only difference is that the legend on the coins of Chandragupta II is shorter and in one line, while that on the coins of Harigupta is longer and in two lines. This difference is probably due to the difference in size of the two types.

KALAŚA(VASE) TYPE

Copper; .6″; 41 grains; Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Obv: Flower vase (*kalaśa*) on a pedestal.[1]

Rev: Legend in two lines;
[Śrī]mahara[ja]
[Ha]riguptasya.

(Pl. XIXA. 3)

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1. Cunningham takes this to be the Buddha's bowl on a pedestal; *C.M.I.*, p. 19.

The letter *ha* in line 1 is of the eastern variety. This type also recalls one of the copper types of Chandragupta II (**Pl. XVI. 20**). The vase on the present coin is on a pedestal, that on the coins of Chandragupta II is on the ground. The inscription on the present coin is in two lines and gives the royal title of Harigupta. The legend on the coins of Chandragupta II consists only of two letters *Cha* and *ndra*. Probably this abbreviation is due to the fact that the coins of the Vase type of Chandragupta II are much smaller than those of Harigupta.

There are two coins of this type in the collection of Mr. J. Das also. The obverse of one is completely blurred, but that of the other shows the vase on the stand fairly well. The reverse has the usual legend in two lines, as on the coin illustrated above. Their weights are 59 and 49 grains respectively.

(3) HARIKĀNTA (?)

In *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 195, Pl. VI. 15, V.A. Smith has published a silver coin in the cabinet of Dr. Hoey, which he has attributed to a king named Harikānta. The findspot of this coin is not known, but it is not unlikely that it was obtained along with the remaining two coins published along with it. One of the latter is a coin of the Maukhari ruler Śarvavarman and on the other the king's name has not been preserved.

The legend on this coin has not been well preserved. Its portion on the right side is illegible. From VI the letters *śrī-hara*(*i*) are clear. What follows is a distinct *ka* followed by another letter, which has been read as *nta* by Smith, but which can also be a *pta*. The following four letters are *vajayata*, being part of the concluding portion *divaṁ jayati*. The letter preceding *va*, however, is not *di* or *da* but looks like *pta* or *nta*. The legend is carelessly engraved. If we take the letter before *va* as *nta*, then we expect it to be preceded by *gu* and not by

ka, as is actually the case. So it is only by assuming that there is a mistake in engraving that we can assign this coin to Harigupta written as Harikapta. If this assumption were correct, we can suggest that this Harigupta is the same as Harigupta of the copper coins discussed above.

This however seems unlikely. The reading Harikānta is also not free from difficulty; for the last letter looks more like a *pta* than a *nta*, but *nta* is not impossible. We may therefore tentatively assume that the king's name is Harikānta.

Harikānta (?) seems to have been a fairly early ruler, not much later than 500 A. D. On the obverse in front of the king's face there is a date, which has been conjectured as 166 by Smith. If this were a correct reading, Harikānta (?) would have been a contemporary of Budhagupta. The numerals are truncated and the reading is quite uncertain.

We shall now describe the coin.

Silver; .6″; weight not recorded; Hoey's Collection.

Obv: Head of the king to right; ear very large; date in front of the face; numerals truncated and illegible.

Rev: Fan-tailed peacock to left. Circular legend, beginning at XII, *Viji......*, at VI *Śrī-Harikānta*(or *pta*) *vajayata*.

(Pl. XIX A. 5)

(4) Jayagupta

Jayagupta is known to us from a singal copper coin, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Its findspot has not been recorded; so no conjecture can be hazarded about the locality of the kingdom of this ruler. He, however, copies closely the common copper type of Chandragupta II, having bust of the king on the obverse and Garuḍa and the legend on the reverse. The letter *ya* on his coin is tripartite and not bipartite, as on the coins of Jaya[nāga] and Samāchāradeva, who flourished between 550 to 650 A.D. The copper coinage of the Imperial Guptas was practically given up by the successors of Kumāra-

gupta I. We may, therefore, place Jayagupta not later than the first half of the 6th century A.D. He was probably a small local ruler, who was content to issue copper coins only.

We now describe the coin.

BUST TYPE

Copper; .7″X .6″; 19.8 grains;[1] *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, Pl. XVII. 10.

Obv: Rather blurred, but faint traces of the bust of the king.

Rev: Upper half : Garuḍa standing facing.
Lower half : Legend, [*Ja*]*yagu*[*pta*].

(Pl. XIXA. 4)

(5) VĪRSENA[2]

Vīrasena is known to us from his gold coinage only. One of his coins is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,[3] and one in the British Museum, London. Smith refers to a third coin, but its whereabouts are not known.

The palæography of the legend belongs to the later Gupta period and the fact that two of these coins were found near Banaras and that they show the Bull on the reverse would perhaps indicate that Vīrasena was ruling over Banaras area.

The weight of the coins of Vīrasena varies between 161 and 169 grains. They are obviously issued to the weight standard of a gold Śatamāna, weighing a hundred *rattis*. The metrology, therefore, does not show any Gupta influence; the Guptas never issued any gold coins weighing more than 152 grains. The reverse of Vīrasena's coins shows Laksmī seated

1. This coin has been published also in *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 3.
2. This Vīrasena is to be distinguished from the homonymous ruler, who issued square copper coins in the Mathurā area. The latter flourished in the 3rd century A. D., and issued coins with the railing on one side with king's name above, and a rude figure of Lakshmī on the other; see Allan, *B.M.C.*, *A.I.*, pp. 280-1.
3, *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI. 14.

on a lotus (rather crudely delineated), which is so common on Gupta coins. The *biruda* of Kramāditya was taken by Skandagupta, Kumāragupta II and Ghaṭo(tkachagupta) of the Gupta dynasty. We may, therefore, place Vīrasena sometime in the 6th century.

We shall now describe one of the coins of Vīrasena.

Gold; shape, oval .65″X .5″; 162.5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 11.

Obv: Below, Bull standing to r.
Above, the legend Śrī-*Vīrase*[*na*].

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand and fillet in r. Legend, *Kramādi*[*tya*].

(Pl. XIXA. 15)

(6) SAMĀCHĀRADEVA NARENDRAVINĪTA

Only two coins of king Samāchāradeva are known so far; but they have been a centre of several controversies. The difference of view starts with the reading of the name as well as of the *biruda*. While on his Archer type, the name could be clearly read as Samacha, that on the Rājalīlā[1] type seemed to be Yamadha. The latter reading was proposed by J. Allan and accepted by R. D. Banerji.[2] In the palæography of this period, *ya* and *sa*, and *dha* and *cha* are similar and can be confused with each other by careless engravers; and since the *biruda* on both the coins is the same, it will be reasonable to assume that the correct reading on the obverse of the Rājalīlā type is also *Samacha*, standing for Samāchāra. The latter *rā* is not quite distinct; but its traces can be seen above the Bull standard in the Archar type (**Pl. XIXA. 6**) and below the feet of the female on the left in the Rājalīlā type (**Pl. XIXA. 7**).

The *biruda* on the reverse of both the coins was read as Narendrāditya by J. Allan., N. K. Bhattasali, and

1. A person sitting at ease on a couch with attendants on either side is said to be in the *rājalīlā* pose.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1913, p. 259.

R. D. Banerji;[1] the last mentioned scholar had carefully examined these two coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and opined that the legend was *Narendravinīta*. A careful examination of the better photographs reproduced in the *I.M.C.*, I, Pl. XVI., Nos. 11 and 13, shows that the legend clearly consists of six letter, as is also shown by the photographs reproduced in the *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 4 and 5. It is clear that after *Narendra* there are three more letters, the last two of which cannot be mistaken for a carelessly engraved *tya*. Banerji's conclusion based upon a microscopic examination of the coins that the last three letters are *vinīta* is borne out by a scrutiny of the facsimiles in the *I. M. Catalogue*[2] also.

The identity of king Samāchāra eluded the scholars for a long time, because he was not known from any other sources till *c.* 1909. J. Allan, who read the reverse legend as Narendrāditya, was half inclined to identify Samāchāra with Śaśāṅka, because according to Buhler, Narendrāditya was another name or *biruda* of that king.[3] Bhattasali agreed with the view that Narendrāditya was Śaśāṅka, but thought that Samāchāradeva was possibly the father[4] of Śaśāṅka. This is a difficult view to accept because the type would then be a joint one. Joint coinage is not known in the Gupta age. Hoernle thought that the ruler might be Narasiṁhagupta II.[5] The most fatal objection against identifying this ruler either with Śaśāṅka or with Narasiṁhagupta is the circumstance that the vertical legend on the obverse indicated the personal name in the Gupta numismatic tradition, and so the personal name of the issuer will have to be taken as Samāchāra and not Śaśāṅka.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, p. 150; *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., 1923 pp. 54-6; *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1913-4, pp. 259-60.
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has rejected this reading in favour of Narendrāditya in *History of Bengal*, I, p. 52. He however does not explain the presence of six letters in the legend on the reverse.
3. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, pp. lxiv, cvi. In the body of the book, Allan has separated the coins of Samāchāra from those of Śaśāṅka.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, 1923; pp. 54-6.
5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893; p. 147.

It is interesting to note that the name Samāchāra never occurs on any side of any coin of Śaśāṅka. If that was his personal name, why should it not make its appearance at least on some of his pieces ?

At Nalanda a seal was found of king Samāchāradeva,[1] and a copper plate issued by him was discovered at Ghugrahatti in Faridapur district of Eastern Bengal, written in 6th century characters. Both the coins and the plate show some common palæographic features. On the coins the medial *ā* of *mā* is denoted by a superscript angular stroke, and of *chā* by a short perpendicular stroke to right. The plate also shows both these peculiarities. It is interesting to note that Ghugrahatti, where the plate was found, is situated only 30 miles from that place on the bank of the Arunkhali in Jessore district, where the Rajalīlā type coin of Samāchāradeva was recovered along with a coin of Śaśāṅka. We may therefore well presume that Samāchāradeva of the coins is identical with Samāchāradeva of the Ghugrahatti plates and also of the seal found in Nalanda. It would appear that in spite of his Śaiva persuasion, as suggested by the Bull standard on his Archer type, Samāchāra was interested in Buddhism and perhaps patronised the Nalanda establishment like kings Susthitavarman, Avantivarman and Harshavardhana, whose sealings also have been recovered at Nalanda.

Though Samāchāradeva is not identical with Śaśāṅka, he did not live far away from him either in space or in time. Śaśāṅka held sway in eastern Bengal; one of the coins of this king was found there is Jessore district, as pointed out above, and in the company of a coin of Śaśāṅka. The Bull standard of Samāchāra and Śiva and Nandī on the coins of Śaśāṅka show that both were Śaivas. Perhaps both belonged to the same dynasty ruling in Eastern Bengal, Samāchāra being a predecessor of Śaśāṅka, ruling in *c.* 550-575 A.D. He is usually taken to be the latest ruler in the triad of kings Gopachandra,

1. *Nalanda and its epigraphic Material, M.A.S.I.*, Vol. 66; pp. 31-2.

Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, who are known from the five charters from Faridpur district and one plate from the Burdwan district; hence the above date is suggested for him.

The view that Samāchāradeva was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka is untenable. It presupposed that the term *narendra* in the legend *narendravinīta* refers to Śaśāṅka and that its meaning is one who is humble to Narendra (i.e. Śaśāṅka). There is no sufficient evidence for the first assumption. If we accept the second hypothesis, we shall have to admit that the name of the feudatory occurs on the obverse and that of the emperor on the reverse. This also is without a precedent. It is best to hold that Samāchāra was a very near predecessor of Śaśāṅka.

We now proceed to illustrate the two coins of this ruler known so far.

ARCHER TYPE

(1) Gold; .9″; 148.2 grains; Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1]

Obv: King, nimbate, standing l. in *tribhaṅga* pose holding bow in l. hand and offering oblations by the r. Necklace round the neck; bull standard behind the r. hand Legend, below the l. arm *samā*; between the feet *cha.*[2] Probably above the bull there is the letter *ra.*

Rev: Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, with lotus in l. hand and fillet in the r. which is stretched out. Symbol (?) on left.
Legend on the r.; *Śrīnarendravinīta.*

(Pl. XIXA. 6)

RĀJALĪLĀ TYPE

(2) Gold (alloyed); .8″; 149 grains; Indian Museum.[3]

Obv: King, nimbate, seated on couch in the Rājalīlā pose, with head to l., left hand raised and r. resting at

1. *I.M.C.*, I, p. 120 and Pl. XVI. 11; *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 149, Pl. XXIV.4.
2. In *mā*, the medial *ā* is denoted by a superscript angular stroke; in *chā*, it is a short perpendicular stroke to right. Both the methods are followed in the Faridpur (Ghugrahatti) grant of this ruler.
3. *I.M.C.*, I, p. 122; Pl. XVI. 13; *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 150, Pl. XXIV. 5; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 1.

side. Female attendant (or queen?) on either side. Between the king's head and attendant on r. written perpendicularly, *Samā*;[1] under the couch, *chā*. *Ra* is probably beneath the feet of the female on r.

Rev: Goddess Sarasvatī, nimbate, standing on a lotus bed in *tribhaṅga* posture. Her left hand rests on a lotus with bent stalk; by her right hand she draws up another lotus with long stalk in front of her face (as if to smell it). A lotus bud with a stalk under the r. hand; below it, is a goose (*haṁsa*) with up-stretched neck trying to snatch at a lotus leaf in its front by its open beak.

Legend on the l. *Narendravinīta*.

(Pl. XIXA. 7)

(7) ŚAŚĀṄKA

Śaśāṅka, who ruled in Gauḍa in the first quarter of the 7th century, was a rival and opponent of the Maukharis of Kanauj and Harshavardhana of Thaneshvar. Apparently he issued coins only in gold; at any rate his coins in silver and copper have not so far been found. His gold coins also are of a varying degree of purity; in some, the gold contents are about 58% (*e.g.* B.M. No. 608); in others they are very much less. Some of his coins are in copper plated with gold (*e.g.* B.M. Nos. 610 and 611). Majority of his coins are issued to the *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *rattis* or about 144 grains; a few however weigh only 85 grains and are probably of the half *śatamāna* denomination. Smaller coins, however, have a much lesser dross, though they are rougher in execution. They have a border of big dots both on the obverse and the reverse; this is absent on the bigger coins. The goddess on the reverse has lotus in each hand, but no elephants to give her ablution.

1. The first letter can be also taken as *ya*, as R. D. Banerji and Allan had done, but the reading *sa* is equally possible. *Sa* and *ma* could at this period be easily mistaken for each other, as also *cha* and *dha*.

It is well known that Śaśāṅka was an opponent of Buddhism. His coinage would show that he was a Śaiva, because Śiva invariably appears on the obverse of his coins on his mount Nandī. This side further shows the full round orb of the moon to the left of the king's face. The legend on the obverse was intended to be *Śrī-Śaśāṅko jayati*; but only the letters *Śrī-śaśa* have come on the flan. The first three letters are written vertically behind the haunch of the bull in the usual Gupta tradition; *ja* and *ya* are written below the bull.

The reverse shows Lakshmī seated on lotus, as on th' Gupta coinage. There is an elephant on either side giving he ablution. The legend on the reverse is *Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ*.

COINS ILLUSTRATAD : 4

CLASS I

SUVARṆA TYPE

(1) Gold; .8″; 145 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 14.

Obv: Śiva, nimbate, reclining to left on bull to l. with l. hand uplifted holding an uncertain object; full moon (*śaśāṅka*) above on l. On r. *Śraśa*; below the bull, *jaya* (from l. to r.).

Rev: Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand which rests on knee; r. hand outstreched and empty; at the top on either side an elephant giving her ablution.
On her r. *Śraśa*.
No symbol.

(Pl. XIXA. 8)

(2) Gold; .75″; 145.3 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIII. 15.

Obv: As above, but the legend below is *yaja* instead of *jaya*.

(Pl. XIXA. 9)

Rev: As above.

(3) Gold-plated; .8″; 133.7 grains; *B.M.C.,G.D.*, p. 147, No. 610.

Obv: As above; legend, *Śrīśa.*

Rev: As above; *Śrīśaśāṅka.*

(Not illustrated)

CLASS II

HALF-*ŚATAMĀNA* TYPE

(4) Gold; .75″, 85 grains; *B.M.C., G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 2.

Obv: As above, but no trace of the legend *Śrīśa*. Below the bull, *Yaja* and not *Jaya*.

Rev: Lakshmī holds lotus in r. hand and l. hand rests on thigh; no ablution by elephants.
Legend, *Śrīśaśāṅka.*

(Pl. XIXA. 10)

JAYA[NĀGA] PRAKĀṆḌAYAŚAS

Jaya(nāga) Prakāṇḍayaśas is known to us from some gold and gold-plated coins found in Bengal. The full personal name of this ruler is not yet definitely known. Allan had first thought that it might have ended with *gupta*;[1] later on he suggested that the full name might have been Jayanāga and thought that the issuer of the coins was identical with Mahārājādhirāja-paramabhāgavata-śrī-Jayanāgadeva, the donor of the Vappaghoshavaṭa charter, issued from Karṇasuvarṇa, located probably in Murshidabad district.[2] This view seems most probable.

Jayagupta of the copper coin, discussed above (p. 322), is different from this ruler; the earlier tripartite form of *ya* occurs on the coins of the former; whereas the later bipartite form of that letter is used both on the coins of Jayanāga, as also in his Vappaghoshvaṭa plate.

The palæography of his coins suggests that Jayanāga should be placed between *c.* 550 and 650 A.D. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*

1. *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 150.
2. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 63.

states that the son of Śaśāṅka had a short reign of eight months and five days and was succeeded by a king named Nāga. It is quite probable that this Nāga is identical with Jayanāga; if so, his time may be *c*. 640 to 650 A.D. The reverse of Jayanāga's coins would support this view. The goddess on his coins folds her feet in the same manner that is to be seen on some coins of Śaśāṅka; (cf. **Pl. XIXA. 11** with **Pl. XIXA. 10**); there also occurs the motif of her bath by an elephant, as we see it on most of the coins of Śaśāṅka. Numismatic evidence would thus support the view of Jayanāga being a successor of Śaśāṅka.

Since Jayanāga takes the title of Mahārājādhirāja in his copper plate, we may well presume that he was a ruler of some consequence; he had some feudatories ruling under him as shown by his charter. He may, therefore, well have thought of issuing gold coins. He was a *paramabhāgavata* or Vaishṇava and, therefore, naturally discontinued the obverse of Śaśāṅka's coinage, which showed Śiva standing by the Bull; he replaced it by the well-established Archer type. The reverse is a close copy of Śaśāṅka's coins.

The weight of Jayanāga's coins varies from 132 to 139 grains. They are heavily adulterated; one of his coins in British Museum, No. 614, which was tested, had only 34% of gold.

The coinage of Jayanāga is a close copy of the well-known Archer type of the Gupta dynasty. The obverse shows the king usually standing to '. but sometimes facing also, and holding bow and arrow, while the reverse has Lakshmī seated on lotus receiving ablution from an elephant on l. The long legend on r. probably left no room to show an elephant on r. also, as is to be seen on the coins of Śaśāṅka. His *biruda*, however, does not end with *Āditya*; it is *Prakāṇḍayasāḥ*, 'of wide fame.' His coinage replaces Garuḍa standard by the Chakra standard, which had made its appearance on the coinage

of Kācha (**Pl. IV. 1**) and on one variety of the Archer type of Chandragupta II (**Pl. V. 2**). *Chakradhvaja* is quite appropriate for a Vaishṇava.

We shall now describe two of his coins.

(1) Gold; .8″; 131.8 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 6.

Obv: King, nimbate, standing to l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. Chakra-standard behind the king's r. hand. Legend *Jaya* under the king's left arm. No traces of any circular legend.

Rev: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand and fillet in r. hand outstretched; faint traces of an elephant on l. sprinkling the goddess.
Legend on r. *Śra(ī)prakāṇḍayaśā*.

(**Pl. XIXA. 11**)

(2) Gold; .8″; 139 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 7.

Obv: As above, but king stands facing.
The staff of *Chakra* standard is worked on lathe.

Rev: As above, but the legend is fragmentary.
Only faint traces of the elephant on l.

(**Pl. XIXA. 12**)

(3) Gold-plated copper; .8″; 117.8 grains; *B.M.C.*,*G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 8.

Obv: As above.

Rev: Elephant on l. quite distinct.
Legend obliterated.

(**Pl. XIXA. 13**)

In the Nālandā excavation of 1935-36, a clay mould was discovered, showing the motif of the obverse of the coins of Jaya(nāga). The external diameter of the mould is $1\frac{1}{8}''$ and the internal diameter is .75″. The name of the king is written under the left arm as Jaya; the *ya* is bipartite as on the coins of this ruler. The figure of the king is similar to that on **Pl. XIXA. 11.** In front of the king we have the *Chakradhvaja*

and not *Garuḍadhvaja*. The form of *ya* and the presence of *Chakradhvaja* make it almost certain that the king Jaya(nāga) of the coins is identical with Jaya(nāga) of the clay mould. Unfortunately the mould of the reverse has not been found and so we do not know whether the king had the *biruda* of *Prakāṇḍayaśāḥ*.

Jayanāga was a Vaishṇava, as pointed out already. It would appear that he was also connected with Nālandā and he might have sent an officer of his to the University with authority to issue gold coins from earthen moulds in order to donate them to the establishment. For the time being this is a mere conjecture.

Description of the earthen mould of Jaya(nāga).

Size; external diameter, 1.12″; internal diameter, .75″; *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-6; p. 52, Pl. XVII. d.

Obv: King nimbate standing to left, bow in l. hand and perhaps arrow in the r. *Chakradhvaja* behind the r. hand. No traces of the circular legend.

(Pl. XIXA. 14)

(9) ANCIENT IMITATIONS OF GUPTA GOLD COINS IN EASTERN BENGAL

A fairly large number of rude imitations of Gupta gold coins have come to light in Bograh, Tipperah, Dacca and Faridpur districts of Eastern Bengal. 17 of these have been noticed and described by N. K. Bhattasali in *J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.* 1923, pp. 57-64. Some others are also occasionally offered for sale by coin dealers; the Patna University cabinet has got two of them.

The obverse of these coins shows the king standing holding a bow and an arrow. The standard in front of the king is surmounted by a counch or spiral penon;[1] on one coin there

1. The view that it may be a horse standard (*B.M.C., G.D.*, p. 154) does not seem to be correct; on the solitary coin, where this horse standard is said to appear, the object is indistinct (*B.M.C., G.D.*, XIV. 7).

is also a small horse on the obverse. In most cases the obverse bears no legend; in some cases the letter *Śrī* makes its appearance, followed by what look like the traces of a legend. The goddess on the reverse is standing to r., wearing a flowing robe; on the right there are in some cases traces of an inscription. In some cases the goddess is shown to be eight-handed; in others she has only a pair of hands.

The attribution of these coins is a matter of some uncertainty. N. K. Bhattasali attributed them to the later Guptas of Magadha.[1] There is a horse on one of these coins (**Pl. XIXA. 13**). King Ādityasena of this dynasty is known to have performed a horse-sacrifice; he may, therefore, be presumed to have issued coins of this variety. Bhattasali admits that the vast majority of the coins of this type show no horse upon them; but he argues that this is so because they were issued by his successors, who had performed no horse-sacrifice. All these coins, with horse and without horse, undoubtedly belong to the same series, as shown by their type, weight and border of thick dots. N. K. Bhattasali, therefore, thought that the series should be attributed to Ādityasena and his successors of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

There are, however, serious difficulties in accepting this view. These coins are never discovered in Magadha, the home province of the Later Guptas; they are all found in Eastern Bengal in the districts of Bogra, Tipperah, Dacca and Faridpur, which were never included in the dominion of the Later Guptas. It is, therefore, difficult to accept the view that these coins were the issues of the Later Guptas of Magadha.

The findspots of the coins as well as their association with those of Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka in some finds show that the rulers who issued these rude pieces, held sway in Eastern Bengal. They were considerably influenced by Gupta numismatic traditions, but were not slavishly following them, as is

2. *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, 1923, pp. 62 ff.

shown by the eight-armed goddess on the reverse. In their weight and border of thick dots, they imitate the half-Śatamāna type of Śaśāṅka. We may, therefore, well attribute them to some local rulers in Eastern Bengal, who ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka. To judge from the uniformity of type, these rulers may well have belonged to one and the same dynasty. S. K. Chakravarti thought that the legend on B. M. No. 620 read *Sudhanya* standing for *Sudhanyāditya.* This ruler was, according to him, the founder of this dynasty, who performed the horse-sacrifice; other coins without the horse were issued by his successors, who had not performed the Aśvamedha.[1] The legend, however, is very indistinct; and the reading *Sudhanya* is very doubtful; *Sudhanyāditya* as a *biruda* is hardly known to us from any other source. It is, therefore, not easy to accept the reading *Sudhanyā*, unless it is confirmed by a clear specimen.

Pṛithuvīra is another name read on one of the coins of this series. This reading is quite clear. King Pṛithuvīra is, however, otherwise unknown to us.

We can, therefore, only assert at present that some members of a local ruling family in Eastern Bengal, who succeeded Śaśāṅka, issued these coins. One of them had probably performed a horse-sacrifice and the name of another was Pṛithuvīra.

The heaviest of these coins weighs 92.5 grains, (No. 621 of the B.M.); the lightest, (one of the pieces in the Dacca Museum) weighs 75 grains; but the average weight is 85 grains or 50 *rattis*; i. e. the weight of a half Śatamāna. Most of these coins are heavily debased.

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1. *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, p. 408. N. K. Bhattasali reads *Sudhanya* and *Sukrama* on two coins in the Dacca Museum; *Num. Supp.*, 1923, p. 58 n. But as the coins are not illustrated, it is not possible to check the readings.

COINS ILLUSTRATED : 5

Variety A

(With horse)

(1) Gold; .85″; 86.5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl.XXIV. 17.

Obv: Within a border of thick dots, king standing to l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r.; a horse below the l. arm. A standard behind the r. hand, its top being indistinct. *Śra* in front of the king's face.

Rev: Within border of thick dots, eight armed Goddess standing to r. In the first r. hand held up in her front, there is some object, perhaps a fruit. On the r., traces of what looks like a degraded legend.

(Pl. XIXB. 1)

Variety B

(Without horse)

(2) Gold; .85″; 92.5 grains; *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 18.

Obv: As above; but no horse. The standard is surmounted by a counch, (*śaṅkha*) or has a spiral penon above it.

(Pl. XIXB. 2)

Variety C

(Goddess two-armed)

(3) Gold; .8″; 95 grains; Patna University Collection.

Obv: As on No. 2. The figure of the king is better and the bow is quite distinct. The standard is crude and appears to be a *Garuḍadhvaja*.

Rev: Goddess is two armed and holds a fillet in r. hand. No trace of circular legend. Behind the goddess, some indistinct object. Border of dots.

(Pl. XIXB. 3)

Variety D

(With issuer's name)

(3) Gold(base); .9″; 88.3 grains; *Num.Ch.*, 1934, Pl.III.5.

Obv: Within a border of thick dots, a very crude representation of king standing to l.; holding apparently

bow in l. hand, bent and raised, and offering oblations by the r.; a standard before the king.[1]
Legend on l. in three lines.
Śrī
Pṛithu
Vī[ra]
Between the feet, the letter *ja*.

(Pl. XIXB. 4)

Rev: As in No. 1 above.

(Not illustrated)

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1. On one coin of this type in *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, Pl. XXIV. 19. there is a crescent between the standard and the king's head.

APPENDIX II

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

The present book was in typescript for eight years and in the press for three years. During this period a few new types of the Gupta coinage have come to light; we shall illustrate them in this Appendix. New evidence showed that some of the statements made in the book required modification; we shall do this also here.

Chandragupta I

Rupar in the Eastern Punjab is to be added to the find-spots of the coins of this ruler given on p. 26; a gold coin of his was discovered there in 1954.

Samudragupta

STANDARD TYPE : A DOUBLE STRUCK COIN

On p. 49 we have referred to a double struck coin of the Standard type of this ruler; a second coin of this nature has been recently acquired by the State Museum, Lucknow and has been published in *J.N.S.I.*, XV, p. 83, Pl. III. 4.

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE

Gold; .85″; 116.6 grains; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University.

Obv: Horse standing before a *yūpa* as usual; one circular medallion above its foreleg and another on its haunch, both upon straps. Legend (I) *Rajadharaja pṛi.*

Rev: As usual.

(Pl. XIX. 2)

On the coins of this type published so far, the horse is usually bare; in rare cases it has a strap on the neck. The present coin has two straps, one above the foreleg and the other over the hip, each having a round medallion like those seen on some coins of the Horseman type of Kumāragupta I (**Pl. X. 11-12**).

BATTLE-AXE TYPE

CLASS I

Variety D (?)

Gold; .85″; 114.8 grains; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University.

Obv: As usual. Between the king and the attendant, *Samudra*; between the king and the battle-axe, *gupta*. Circular legend, (II) *Kṛitantaparaśa*; at (IX), *tyajata-raja*; above the crescent standard, *jata*.

Rev: As usual. The right hand of the goddess is opened out; faint traces of the neck of the peacock before it (?)

(**Pl. XIX. 3**)

Whether this coin belongs to class I, var. C (**Pl. III. 4**), which is rather rare, or whether it constitutes a new variety is not clear. The object near the right hand of the goddess on the reverse presents a problem. It may be an ill-executed representation of the usual noose or the neck of a peacock. If it is the latter, it will constitute a new variety, viz. D. No gold coins with peacock on the reverse are, however, known so far earlier than the time of Kumāragupta I.

It may be, further, pointed out here that among the coins of the Bayana hoard, there is one in the Horseman type of Kumāragupta I, where the outlines of the noose in the hand of the goddess look like the neck of a peacock (Pl. XXII. 9). Here also the same may be the case.

(3) ARCHER TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA I OR II (?)

Gold; .9″; 136 grains (after clipping); *J.N.S.I.*, Pl. XVI. 102.[1]

Obv: King standing, holding bow in the left hand and arrow in the right; Garuḍa standard in front. Circular legend, not preserved; under the left arm, *Samudra.*

Rev: Goddess seated on lotus and holding a noose in the right hand and a lotus in the left. On the right *Parākrama.*

(Pl. XIX. 4)

Who was the issuer of this coin cannot be definitely stated. Samudragupta II of the Gupta dynasty is not so far known and it is possible to argue that this coin may be of that unpublished variety of Samudragupta's Archer type referred to by Kittoe as occurring in the Bharsar hoard,[2] which had on the reverse the legend *Parākrama* and not *Apratirathaḥ*, which is so far known to be the only legend on the reverse of the Archer type. Kittoe's observation that the king on the obverse is offering oblations on the altar may be due to a mistake, the arrow being mistaken for the altar.

There are, however, several cogent reasons to attribute this coin to Samudragupta II, who may have been one of the Gupta princes, hitherto unknown, who were contending for the Gupta crown after the death of Skandagupta. The following arguments can be adduced in support of this view:—

(1) The weight of the coin, when clipped, is 136 grains. Originally it must have been about 144 grains. This weight standard was unknown in the reign of Samudragupta I and became common only with the advent of Skandagupta.

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1. This coin is with the firm of Messrs. Gaya Prasad Gaurishankar of Lucknow. Mr P. L. Gupta first published it in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol XVI, p. 102 and attributed it to Samudragupta II.

2. *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 190.

(2) The style in which Lakshmī on the reverse folds her legs, looking like a pillow, became common only with late kings like Narasiṁhagupta (**Pl. XV. 2-3**) and Prakāśāditya (**Pl. XV. 14-15**).

(3) The gold of the coin is relatively impure, as is the case with the coins of most of the later Gupta kings. It resembles them also in its rough workmanship, as also in the absence of the circular legend on the obverse.

When dynasties begin to decline, claimants to the throne tend to multiply. Later evidence may well justify the tentative suggestion, made now purely on the numismatic evidence, that the issuer of the present coin is Samudragupta II.

A third alternative is to regard the coin as an ancient forgery. We have forged copperplates of Samudıagupta as instanced by his Gaya and Nalanda copperplates; his coins also may have been forged in the 5th or the 6th century A. D.

No definite conclusion can at present be drawn about the attribution of this type.

SYMBOL ON THE OBVERSE OF A COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

On p. 292 of this work, I have stated that a symbol occurs on the obverse also of a Standard type coin of Samudragupta, No. 688 of the Bodleian Collection. This statement was made on the authority of V. A. Smith, who had testified to its existence on p. 30 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889.

I had however a suspicion that this observation might be due to a mistake, and so I wrote to my friend Mr. A. D. H. Bivar of the Ashmolean Museum to examine the coin and let me know whether there was really a symbol on its obverse. Mr. Bivar replied that there was no symbol on the obverse and that some letters of the circular legend were mistaken for a symbol. I then requested Mr. Bivar to supply me a photograph of the coin for publication in this work and he kindly obliged me by complying with my request. I am now publishing the coin,

so that the readers may judge for themselves as to whether the coin has any symbol in the upper left hand corner on the obverse.

I now describe the coin.

Gold; weight not known; .85"; Ashmolean Museum, No. 688.

Obv: As on the Standard type, class I, var. A. Halo is very large. Under l. arm, *Samu*.
Circular legend beginning at I; only faint traces of *Samaraśa* visible on the right.
Between VIII and IX, *jayaja*. The last two letters bear a superficial resemblance to a symbol; the last letter *ja* appears like the three upper prongs of the symbol with a horizontal line below; the right hand line of *ya* appears like the second horizontal line below the three prongs; the remaining part of *ya* appears like the right portion of a symbol like one of those appearing on the coin of Kācha. There can however be no doubt that what we have here are letters *yaja* and not a symbol.

Rev: As on class I, var. A. Goddess seated on a throne with back, with a cornucopiæ in l. hand and a fillet in r. On the right *Parakrama*; in the left upper corner a symbol.

(Pl. XIX. 5)

Kācha

CHAKRADHVAJA TYPE

Gold; .8"; weight not known; American Numismatic Society, New York.

Obv: As usual; circular legend (I), *Kacha gamavajatya dava kama[bhi]ruttama jayati*.

Rev: As usual; legend, *Sarvarajachchhetta*.

(Pl. XIX. 12)

This coin is just like other coins of Kācha, but it is included in this addenda because of its fine workmanship and almost perfectly preserved legend. *Da* of *divaṁ* is outside the staff of the standard and *va* is just touching it. *Bhi* of *karmabhi* is omitted in the die. The last letter *ti* is coalescing with the halo.

Chandragupta II

LION-SLAYER TYPE

CLASS II

(King looking left)

Variety F

Gold; .8″; 118.6 grains; N. S. Singhi's Collection, Calcutta.

Obv: King to l. looking defiantly at a lion in his front, but not stretching the bow, whose string is outside. Circular legend, mostly off the coin.

Rav: Goddess seated on lion, walking to left. Legend, *Saṁhavikrama*.

(Pl. XIX. 6)

This is a new variety of the Lion-slayer type, Class I. The coin is similar to the one illustrated on **Pl. XIX. 1.** but here the king is looking to left and not to right. There is another coin of this variety in the collection of Mr. D. Hamilton[2] of Killick Nixon Company, Bombay, which was purchased as far as away as at Hassan Abdal in Pakistan.

LION-SLAYER TYPE

CLASS II

Variety K

Gold; 8″; 120 grains; State Museum, Lucknow.[1]

Obv: King facing right and trampling upon a huge lion (which is collapsing) by his l. foot and also shooting arrow at it.

Legend, *Nara*.

1. *J.N.SI.*, XV, p. 81 and Pl. III. 2.
2. This collection has been acquired by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Hindu University, in 1956.

Rev: Goddess sitting astride on lion walking to left; there is cornucopiæ in the left hand; the right hand, which is half stretched, seems to be pointing out at something in front.

(Pl. XIX. 7)

This new variety is similar to the var. H of this class illustrated on **Pl. VI. 15,** but the goddess on the reverse is sitting astride the lion walking to left, and not with here feet folded up.

(7) HORSEMAN TYPE

CLASS II

Variety C[1]

(Same as variety A, but goddess on the reverse standing)

Gold; .7″; 121 grains; Lucknow Museum.

Obv: King riding to right without weapons; the usual legend fairly well preserved.

Rev: Goddess standing facing, holding a small garland in the left hand and a lotus in the right. Legend, *Ajitavikramaḥ.*

This is the only coin of the Horseman type of Chandragupta II, which shows goddess on the reverse standing.

(Pl. XIX. 8)

(8) CHHATRA TYPE

CLASS II

Variety D

(A new sub-variety)

Gold; .85″; 125.3 grains; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University.

Obv: As usual. The king wears a beautiful crown and the two rows of *puroḍāśas* are shown artistically falling

1. *J.N.S.I.*, XV. p. 80.

from his opened out hand. Legend, (I) *Kshatamava-jata*; faint traces of letters on left.

Rev: Goddess walking three fourths to left; her hair tied in a knot on the top of the head and legs not crossing each other.

(**Pl. XIX. 11**)

This is a usual coin of the Chattra type class II, Var. D, where the goddess is shown as walking; her legs however are not shown as crossing each other, as is usually the case on other coins of this variety.

It is however not unlikely that the intention may have been to show the goddess standing on a mat three-fourth to left; in that case it would be a new sub-variety of class II var. A.

KING-AND-QUEEN-ON-COUCH TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

We have discussed a coin of this type on pp. 138-140 and illustrated it on **Pl. IX. 6.** This was the coin found by Byod near Ayodhyā and published and illustrated by him in *Pr. A.S.B.*, 1888, pp. 129-30 and Pl. IV. The photograph of the coin published by Hoernle was very poor and I could not make much progress in reading the legend.

Recently I got a better cast and photograph of this coin through the kindness of Rai Krishna Das, Hon. Curator, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras, which I am publishing on **Pl. XIX. 9.** This photograph now enables us to solve the mystery of the legend to a very great extent.

The circle taken as a mark of abbreviation by Hoernle is obviously the normal form of the letter *tha*; a small dot can be clearly seen within it at some places; see the first and third *tha* in the legend on the left; **Pl. XIX. 10.** Hoernle read the first two letters at *Para*; the new photograph shows that the letter *pa* is not on the flan and *ra* is quite distinct; I take it to be the first letter of the legend. The second letter is not a dot of abbreviation but the letter *tha*; its medial vowel, if any, has

not come out. The next two letters are *matha*; the first four letters are thus *rathamatha*. Hoernle took the next three letters as *bhaga* followed by a dot of abbreviation. The letter *bha* looks like a *ta* in Gupta palæography; and the last letter is a clear *tha*. It is difficult to propose a definite reading of the letter in between these two; I think that it is probably a badly engraved *ra*. The seven letters of the legend on the right are thus *Rathamathatara*(?)*tha*, with appropriate medial vowels to be supplied.

The first three letters on the right hand side are *pravaraḥ*. Hoernle had taken the word as *pravīraḥ*; there is a mark above *va*, looking like that of short medial *i*, but not like that of long medial *ī*. There is no such word as *praviraḥ* in Sanskrit, and the reading *pravīraḥ* will go against the metre, as we shall soon see. The new photograph shows that Hoernle's reading of the last two letters as *gupta* is untenable; the first letter is clearly a *ksha*, the subscript *sha* being distinct, and the last letter is a *ta* and not *pta*.

I therefore take the letters of the legend as *Rathamathatara*(?) *thapravaraḥ kshata*.

These letters can supply a meaning only if we insert suitable medial vowels, which are often not engraved in Gupta legends. I take the legend to be a quartrain in the Druta-vilambita metre and would read it as *Rathimatho'tirathapravaraḥ kshitau* '(King Chandragupta) who is pre-eminent (*pravaraḥ*) on the earth among unrivalled chariot-warriors (*atirathaḥ*), is the destroyer of chariot-warriors (*rathimathaḥ*). *Atiratha* is a common word in Sanskrit for an unrivalled chariot warrior; we have similar words like *mahāratha*, *ekaratha*, etc. *Rathimathaḥ* is rather an unusual combination, but I do not know what other restoration can be suggested out of the four indisputable letters *rathamatha*. *Rathimathaḥ* can be understood as *rathinaḥ mathnāti asau rathimathaḥ*, "one who destroys chariot-warriors." The medial *i* mark of *thi* is fairly clear on the plate.

This coin has been already described on p. 140,

A SECOND COIN OF THIS TYPE

A second coin of this type was sent to me by Rai Krishna Das for examination. It is illustrated on **Pl. XIX. 10.** I am informed that this coin was acquired in Delhi. Its obverse and reverse are identical with those of the coin published by Hoernle and discussed above; but its circular legend is different. This need not surprise us, for we have other instances of the same type of this ruler like the Lion-slayer and the Chhatra types, whose circular legends differ though the type is the same.

The legend on this coin, it seems, begins at II. The first five letters are *Prarathamathā.* Then the legend is broken by the figure of the king and restarts at VIII. The first six letters on the left are *kshitamabhipāta*; we have to supply suitable medial vowels. These letters are followed by faint traces of *da* and *va.* I am inclined to assume that some letters of the legend are off the flan below the feet of the king and we have therefore to supply them. I take them to be *dhiruhya.* The whole legend was most probably *Prarathamathā[dhiruhya]kshitimabhipātā (divaṁ jayati)*, 'Ascending the excellent chariot (*praratha*), the pre-eminent protector (*abhipātā*) of the earth conquers heaven also.' The reading *(m)abhipātā* is certain; we have to supply the medial vowel only to the last letter. In terms like *abhidharma, abhitāmra, abhi* denotes intensity or superiority; the same is the case with the term *abhipātā.* The context shows that the three missing letters after *Prarathamathā* can hardly have been any others than *dhiruhya.*

We shall now describe the coin:—

Gold; .8"; 117.4 grains; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Obv: Same as on **Pl. IX. 6.** The king's conical cap is more distinct; both he and the altar in his front are on a pedestal. The letters under the arm *Chandra* are quite distinct. Circular legend beginning at II, *Prarathamathā[dhiruhya] kshitimabhipātā (divaṁ jayati).*

Rev: As on **Pl. IX. 6.** The object in the king's hand is indistinct. The four *ṭāpdār* legs of the couch, two feet of the queen and one of the king which are all hanging down, and the spitoon are quite distinct. Legend, on the left, *Śrīvi*, on the right, *kramaḥ*. No symbol.

(Pl. XIX. 10)

COPPER COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II[1]

CLASS VII

(11) Copper; .5″; 18 grains; American Numismatic Society.

Obv: Bust of the king to left (?), bearing large earrings.

Rev: The entire field covered with legend in big characters; *Śrī-Cha*(*ndra* ?).

The bust is so crude that it is difficult to say whether it is facing left or right.

Only on the Vase type of this ruler is the entire reverse field covered by the legend *Śrī-Chandra*. This is a new type where there is the bust on the obverse and the reverse is covered entirely by the legend.

(Pl. XIXB. 7)

BUST TYPE[2]

CLASS V

(12) Copper; .4″; 95 grains; D. Hamilton's Collection.

Obv: In an oval of dots, a crude bust of king to left, having large ears.

Rev: Field divided by a horizontal line; Garuḍa in the upper part and legend in the lower, *Chandragupta*.

(Pl. XIXB. 8)

The very rude bust of this coin appears to imitate the Kshatrapa prototype. Mr. D. Hamilton, who has pubished the coin, thinks that the king is facing right and that the coin has a Sassanian fabric. The bust is too crude to be dogmatic about its Sassanian or Kshatrapa affinity.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, XV. p. 88. 2. *Ibid*, XIII. p. 103.

A COPPER COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II (?)

(13) Copper; .75″; 42.5 grains; American Numismatic Society.[1]

Obv: Bust of the king to left, wearing a crest and a large ear-ring and covering the entire flan.

Rev: Garuḍa with outstretched wing covering the entire flan.

(Pl. XIXB. 9)

The obverse and the reverse motifs suggest that the coin was probably issued by Chandragupta II, but in the absence of the legend, this attribution can be only tentative. No copper coin of this ruler is so far known, which shows Garuḍa covering the entire surface of the reverse.

GOLD-COATED COPPER COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Silver-coated copper coins of the Guptas are not uncommon, but gold-coated coins are rare. We describe one such coin from the collection of Mr. J. Das, ex-Manager of the Court of Wards, Allahabad.

Copper; with traces of gold above it: .85″; weight not known; J. Das Collection.

Obv: King standing to left holding bow in the l. hand and arrow in the right. *Chandra* under the l. arm; traces of circular legend.

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus holding a lotus in the l. hand and a noose in the right. Symbol in the upper left quadrant. Legend on the right, *Śrīvikramaḥ.*

(Pl. XIXB. 10)

The present coin now looks almost entirely as copper, but the traces of yellowness indicate that it was once gold-coated. The size and the motifs of the Gupta copper coins are entirely different from those of the gold ones, and so it is clear that this coin was not intended to pass off as a copper piece. The coin is struck from the die of a gold coin of the Archer type

1. *J.N.S.I.*, XV. p. 88.

of Chandragupta II. Gupta empire was at the height of its prosperity in his reign and it is very unlikely that the Government could have sanctioned or connived at the issues of gold-coated copper pieces. It is possible that some mint masters might have surreptitiously issued a few such pieces for personal profit, or some persons in the post-Gupta age might have fabricated such dies for issuing gold-coated coins. This fraud seems to have been practised not quite rarely, for the collction of Mr. Das, which was collected in northern U. P., contains a copper coin of Huvishka entirely in imitation of the gold type with Ardoksho on the reverse and another coin of Kumāragupta I of the Horseman type exactly imitating this gold type in copper.

Kumāragupta I

CHHATRA TYPE

Gold; .8″; 120 grains; American Numismatic Society.

Obv: Rude figure of the king offerring oblations on altar. Dwarf behind him, holding an umbrella. Faint traces of the circular legend.

Rev: Goddess standing on a mat with lotus in the left hand and a noose in the right. Legend, *Mahendrādātya.*

(Pl. XIX. 13)

Only two coins of this type were so far known from the Bayana hoard. The coin being illustrated here in the 3rd coin of the type, but of poor workmanship, as compared to the one published on on **Pl. XIII. 15.** Its reverse legend is *Mahendrāditya* and not *Śrīmahendrāditya*, as on the coins in the Bayana hoard.

HOARSEMAN TYPE

CLASS II

Variety E

(Legend the same as in Class II, Var. C, but ending with *divaṁ jayati* and not with *jayatyajitaḥ*)

Gold; .81″; 127.2 grains; *B.H.*, Pl. XXV. 10.

Obv: King, not nimbate, riding on caparisoned horse to r. bare-headed, with curly hair falling on the neck,

wearing coat and probably trousers, holding no weapons. Circular legend, beginning at I:—
Ksha(i)tipat[irajito vijayī Kumāragu]pta(o)dava jayati (divaṁ jayati).

Rev: Goddess, nimbate, seated facing left on wicker stool, offering an object held between the thumb and the fore-finger to peacock whose neck only is just visible, and holding lotus with long stalk in the l. hand, resting on waist.
No symbol.
Ajitamahendraḥ.

(**Pl. XIX. 14**)

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE—A SIXTH COIN

We have illustrated four coins of this type and referred to a fifth one on p. 197. Recently Mr. P. J. Chinmulgund, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Poona, acquired a sixth coin of this type from a Delhi dealer and has published it in *J.N.S.I.*, XVII, part II, pp. 104-6 and Pl. IX. 5. Unfortunately the photograph published is rather poor in quality and is perhaps not to the size. The diameter of this coin is .72" and weight 123.9 grains. The type and motifs are the same as those on the coins published here on **Pl. XIII. 3-6.** It is stated that the concluding letters of the circular legend on the obverse, *Kumāragupto jayatyaniśam* are more distinct than those on the coins in the Bayana hoard; but the photograph is too poor to enable us to appreciate the remark.

The reverse legend is *Mahendrakhaḍga.*

A DEFECTIVE SILVER COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I (?)

The collection of the late Munirāja Vidyāvijayaji of Shivapuri in Madhyabharat contains a peculiar silver coin, a photograph of which was kindly sent to me by Dr. H. V. Trivedi. This silver coin (**Pl. XIXB. 13**) is of the Western Indian type, showing the Kshatrapa bust on the obverse along with a number of degraded Greek letters around it. The reverse shows

the usual device of Garuḍa. The circular legend is the usual one, but shows some peculiarities. After the letters *Parama-bhagavata-maharaja-śra*, we have two letters which can be read as *Paku* or *Pakra* or *Maku* or *Makra*, *ma* being taken as of the eastern variety. Then follow the letters, *gupta-Mahendraditya.*

Who was the issuer of this coin is the problem before us. *Mahendrāditya* was a *biruda* of Kumāragupta I, but the personal name of the issuer of this coin seems *prima facie* to have been something different from Kumāra. I am inclined to think that the legend is defective and the issuer was none other than Kumāragupta I.

There are several silver coins of this ruler with defectively engraved legends, or with incomplete legends. They show readings like *rajadhaśra-Kumara*, *jadharaśra-Kumara*, *rajadharaśra-Kumara*, *jadhaśra-Kumara*, *jaśra-Kumara*, etc.[1] In the the last mentioned defective legend occurring on B. M. No. 384, *śra* is preceded by a superfluous *ma*; on the present coin also *śra* is seen preceded by a superfluous letter. It is true that this letter looks like a usual *pa*. But square-base forms of *ma* do occur on the silver coins of Kumāragupta I; see **Pl. XVI. 8.** at I. I therefore think that on our coin the legend here is *śrama-Kugupta*.

We can omit this *ma* as a superfluous letter as on B. M. No. 384 and take the legend to be *Kugupta*, which was intended to be an abbreviation of Kumāragupta. This emperor has abridged his name into the letter *Ku* on one variety of his Archer and Tiger-slayer type; see *ante*, pp. 171-2, 193. The same is seen on some of his copper coins; see *ante*. p. 239. The same might have been done on the present piece.

Alternatively it is possible to suggest that the engraver anticipated the letter *ma* too early and engraved it before *Ku*, and in the consequent confusion of his mind forgot to engrave *ra* altogether, giving us the legend *maKugupta* in stead of *Kumāragupta.*

We now describe the coin.

1. *B.M.C.*, *G.D.*, pp. 105-7.

Silver; .55″; 32.4 grains; Muni Vidyavijaya Collection.

Obv: Bust of the king to right; in its front Greek letters, IIOIO; no traces of date.

Rev: Garuḍa in the centre; a crescent on one side and a cluster of dots on the other; legend (II), *Paramabhagavata-maharaja-sra-ma* (or *pa*) *Kugupta-Mahandradatya.*

(Pl. XIXB. 12)

HORSEMAN TYPE IN COPPER

Copper coins of Kumāragupta are few and confined to the Altar type. Recently a copper coin of this ruler has been traced in the collection of Mr. J. Das of Allahabad, which is of the Horseman type. Copper coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I have different designs, shapes and weights than those of the gold coins of these rulers. This copper coin however is of the size of the gold coin of the Horseman type; its photograph in the Plate is in enlarged size. It seems to have had the circular legend of the variety C of the Horseman type of Kumāragupta, namely, *Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ*; only a few letters have been preserved. The reverse is also the same, namely, goddess seated on the wicker stool and feeding a peacock. As Gupta rulers had distinctive types for their copper coinage, it is not unlikely that the present coin was issued from a die of the gold coin of the Horseman type. It is not unlikely that it might have been originally gold-plated. If such was the case, it might be that during the hard times that overtook the Gupta empire towards the end of Kumāragupta's reign, gold-plated coins might have been issued, which now appear as copper pieces. More evidence is however necessary before we can accept this conclusion as a historical fact.

We shall now describe the coin.

Copper coated with gold (?); .8″. photo not to size; 92 grains; J. Das Collection.

Obv: King on horse to right; faint traces of circular legend, *Kshi....................tyajita.*

Rev: Goddess seated on wicker stool to left holding a fillet in right hand and the left one resting on the waist; legend on r., *Ajitamahendraḥ.*

(Pl. XIXB. 11)

This coin type would be of class II, var. C of the Horseman type of this ruler; see p. 182, Pl. XI. 9-10.

WEIGHT OF THE GOLD COIN OF GHAṬOTKACHA(GUPTA)

On p. 264, we have described the solitary gold coin of Ghaṭo(tkachagupta) in the Leningrad Museum. At that time the weight of the coin could not be ascertained and given. The First Secretary of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., New Delhi, kindly made the necessary enquiry and informed Mr. P. L. Gupta that the weight of the coin is 9.16 grammes or 141.22 grains. This weight shows that its issuer could not have been the father of Chandragupta I. He must have flourished sometime after 450 A. D., when the issue of heavy weight coins was started by Skandagupta.

Prakāśāditya[1]

(With the letter *ma* in the field)

Gold; .8"; 145.6 grains; American Numismatic Society.

Obv: King riding to right and attacking a leaping lion by sword; bow round his body and its string over the shoulder. Traces of truncated legend, not decipherable. The concluding part does not seem to be *vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati*, as was conjecturally restored by J. Allan.

Under the horse, the letter *ma.*

Rev: Lakshmī seated on lotus, her legs folded like a pillow; lotus in the left hand and noose in the right. *Śrī-Prakāśādata.*

(Pl. XIX. 15)

The coins of Prakāśāditya, published so far, showed the letter *u* or *ru* under the horse; the present coin, however, has

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1. *J.N.S.I.*, XV. p. 86-7.

the letter *ma* in that place, which so far was not known to be occurring there.

CLAY MOULDS FOR GOLD COINS OF NARASIṀHAGUPTA[1]

Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya was closely connected with the Monastic University of Nālandā. During the excavations of 1935-36, carried on at this University on the site of Monastery 12, two clay moulds were discovered, whose external diameter was $1\frac{1}{8}''$ and internal diameter $\frac{3}{4}''$. On one mould there is the figure of the king standing with bow and arrow, with the name *Nara* written under the arm, and on the other there is the figure of Lakshmī seated on lotus, holding lotus in one hand and noose in the other. A gold coin discovered at Nālandā is stated to be exactly fitting this mould. It would therefore appear that king Bālāditya, who was one of the great patrons of Nālandā, had apparently taken some moulds of his gold coins in order to give donations in golden *dīnāras* for the different needs of the University. Tradition states that he retired to Nālandā in his old age and lived there as a monk.

We shall now describe the moulds as well as their casts. The photographs of the two halfs of the mould are not to the size but smaller; they are in the upper row and those of the casts in the lower one.

Clay mould; external diameter, $1\frac{1}{8}''$; internal diameter $1\frac{3}{4}''$; Nālandā Museum.

Obv: A graceful figure of the king standing to left with bow in the right hand and arrow in the left. Garuḍa standard in front of the king. Below his l. arm, *Nara.*

(Pl. XIXB. 5)

Rev: Lakshmī to front seated on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand and noose in the right. Symbol in the left upper corner; legend on the right, illegible.

(Pl. XIXB. 6)

1. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-6, p. 52, Pl. XVII. d.

ADDITIONAL HOARDS

In the section on Hoards and Finds (pp. 305–316) the following were omitted by oversight.

BAMNALA HOARD : This hoard was found in 1940 at the village Bamnala in Nimar district of new Madhya Pradesh; it was scattered under the surface of a road, along with a gold bar, weighing 11 *tolas* and 10 *māshas*. The hoard contained 8 coins of Samudragupta (7 of the Standard type and one of the Lyrist type, var. B), nine of Chandragupta II (all of the Archer type, class II) and four of Kumāragupta I (two of the Archer, one of the Horseman and one of the Tiger-slayer type). One of the Standard type coins of Samudragupta of this hoard had the *biruda Vikrama;* the Horseman type coin had the letter *si* inscribed under the foot-stool of the goddess. (*J.N.S.I.*, V, 135).

KUSUMBHI HOARD: This hoard of Gupta gold coins was found in 1947 at Kusumbhi in Unao district of U.P., while digging for the extension of a distributory canal of the Gaṅgā. 29 coins were acquired from this hoard, of which three were of Samudragupta, Standard type, 19 of Chandragupta II, (17 of the Archer type, and one each of the Chhatra and Lion-slayer types), and two of Kumāragupta I, one of the Archer and one of the Horseman type (*J.N.S.I.*, XV. p. 82).

JESSORE HORD: This find was made at Muhammadpur near Jessore and is described in *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, pp. 401-2. Silver coins of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta are said to have been found in this hoard, which looks rather improbable. Among the gold coins, there was one coin of the *Rājalīlā* type of Samāchāradeva, one of Śaśāṅka and one belonging to the class of Later Imitations of the Gupta gold coins; *B.M.C., G.D.*, p. CXXVII.

THE PROBLEM OF KCĀHA AND RĀMAGUPTA

As the book was in type for more than eight years and in the press for more than four years, some discrepancies have crept in about the time and position of Kācha and Rāmagupta. The statement on p. 4 that the whole position about Kācha and Rāmagupta is very obscure is still true and we are not yet in a position to arrive at a definite conclusion. The second sentence on p. 3 is suffering from a serious omission of the opening words, 'Some hold that'; its correct form is 'Some hold that a king named Kācha flourished at about this time and may have been the cause of this war.' And now there is no contradiction between it and the statement on p. 87, ll. 16-7 that 'We have tentatively assumed that Kācha was a Gupta king and came after Samudragupta.' Of course there are difficulties in this position also, if we assume that Samudragupta was succeeded by Rāmagupta; for we shall have to place two kings between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Another possibility is that Kācha might have raised the standard of revolt when Samudragupta was far away in the Deccan. In that case we can explain the high artistic merit of his coin-type and there will be only one king between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The whole position about Kācha and Rāmagupta is too obscure to permit any definite conclusion.

The position of the Chapter on Rāmagupta is rather anomalous; I tentatively hold that there was such a king preceding Chandragupta II, and so the chapter on his coinage should have preceded the chapter on the coinage of the last-mantioned emperor. In the original manuscript, the copper coins of Kācha were merely an appendage to the chapter on the silver and copper coins of Chandragupta II, as will be seen from the Hindi edition of this book published in 1954. During my absence in America in 1954, owing to some misunderstanding, this section got separated into a separate chapter and was placed in the book after the coins of Chandragupta II. If Rāmagupta was the elder brother of Chandragupta II, this arrangement is

unchronological and illogical; but on my return from America I found that it was too late to change it, as the preceding chapters had been printed off.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRECTIONS

KUMĀRAGUPTA I, ARCHER TYPE, p. 170

In l. 5 add 'and holds bow at the top' after the word 'hair.'

KUMĀRAGUPTA I, HORSEMAN TYPE, p. 181

L. 18; add at its end, 'with low back.'

KUMĀRAGUPTA I, HORSEMAN TYPE, VAR. B, p. 181

One coin of this variety in the Bamnala hoard is stated to have the letter *si* below the stool of the goddess on the reverse (*J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 143; Pl. IXA. 20). The plate however is too indistinct to verify the point. If really there is this letter on the reverse, this coin will constitute a new sub-variety.

KUMĀRAGUPTA I, SWORDSMAN TYPE, p, 182

In l. 24, after the word 'hand,' add 'sword in the right.'

KUMĀRAGUPTA I, APRATIGHA TYPE, p. 210

The term *apratigha* has been interpreted as 'invincible in his resolution' on p. 210. This meaning, invincible, is common in the epics and classical literature. But a better meaning can be suggested. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *pratigha* is something which destroys roots of merit; it is one of the six *kleśas*, causing bondage. It consists of anger, aversion, repugnance, loathing, resistence and hostility. So when this coin-type describes Kumāragupta I as *apratigha*, it seeks to convey that he was above anger, aversion, etc. His dress shows that he had become a monk; the adjective suggests that he had made considerable spiritual progress. Entreaties of the Queen or the Commander-in-Chief could not move him.

SKANDAGUPTA, ARCHER TYPE, p. 243

On some coins of this variety in the British Museum, single letters, *ja* or *bha*, appear between the feet of the king. The letter *ja* on *B.M.C.G.D.* XIX. 1. is however quite indistinct, but *bha*

is possible on Pl. XIX. 3. As the letters are not distinct, we have not illustrated the coins.

SKANDAGUPTA, CLASS III, p. 254

Add at the end of l. 9, '*Parama(bhāgavata)śri Skandaguptaḥ*, (**Pl. XXV. 14**) in var. C.'

VAINYAGUPTA, p. 282

L. 25, add at the end of the line after putting a comma, '*Para. . . . . . śrī-Dvādaśādityaḥ*'. The letters '*śādatya* at the end are fairly clear. The letter *bha* between the feet of the king.'

ADDENDUM

A dealer in Delhi has got a Lyrist type coin of Samudragupta, variety A, on which he claims that the king is shown bare-headed. I recently (on 24-4-1957) examined a rather indistinct photograph of this coin and am not quite snre that the claim is justified.

APPENDIX III

GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF GUPTA KINGS

N. B. Reign periods are given in A. D. In the case of later kings they are far from certain and are not therefore given; only known dates are supplied in A. D. Serial numbers are not given after Buddhagupta because the relative order of succession is not difinitely known. See pp. 266-9 for a detailed discussion of the alternative possibilities.

(1) Srīgupta (*c.* 260-280)

(2) Ghaṭotkacha (*c.* 280-300)

(3) Chandragupta I=Kumāradevī (300-330)

(4) Samudragupta=Dattadevī (*c.* 330-370)   (5) Kācha

(6) Rāmagupta (*c.* 370-375)   (7) Chandragupta II=Dhruvadevī (*c.* 375-414) =Kuberanāgā

(8) Kumāragupta I=Anantadevī (*c.* 414-455). Govindagupta. Ghaṭotkacha

(9) Skandagupta (*c.* 455-468)   (10) Purugupta

(11) Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya I   (12) Budhagupta (475-96)

Kumāragupta II (473)   Prakāśāditya

Vishṇugupta   Bhānugupta

Vainyagupta (508)   Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya II

Kumāragupta III

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APPENDIX V

CONVERSION OF INCHES AND GRAINS INTO CENTIMETRES AND GRAMMES

A

One centimetre is equal to 0.397 inch.

B

TABLE OF THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND METRIC GRAMMES

Grains	Grammes	Grains	Grammes	Grains	Grammes
1	.064	27	1.749	53	3.434
2	.129	28	1.814	54	3.498
3	.194	29	1.879	55	3.564
4	.259	30	1.944	56	3.628
5	.324	31	2.008	57	3.693
6	.388	32	2.073	58	3.758
7	.453	33	2.138	59	3.823
8	.518	34	2.202	60	3.888
9	.583	35	2.267	61	3.952
10	.648	36	2.332	62	4.017
11	.712	37	2.397	63	4.082
12	.777	38	2.462	64	4.146
13	.842	39	2.527	65	4.211
14	.907	40	2.592	66	4.276
15	.972	41	2.656	67	4.341
16	1.036	42	2.720	68	4.406
17	1.101	43	2.785	69	4.471
18	1.166	44	2.850	70	4.536
19	1.231	45	2.915	71	4.600
20	1.296	46	2.980	72	4.665
21	1.360	47	3.045	73	4.729
22	1.425	48	3.110	74	4.794
23	1.490	49	3.175	75	4.859
24	1.555	50	3.240	76	4.924
25	1.620	51	3.304	77	4.989
26	1.684	52	3.368	78	5.054

Grains	Grammes	Grains	Grammes	Grains	Grammes
79	5.119	111	7.192	143	9.265
80	5.184	112	7.257	144	9.330
81	5.248	113	7.322	145	9.395
82	5.312	114	7.387	146	9.460
83	5.378	115	7.452	147	9.525
84	5.442	116	7.516	148	9.590
85	5.508	117	7.581	149	9.655
86	5.572	118	7.646	150	9.720
87	5.637	119	7.711	151	9.784
88	5.702	120	7.776	152	6.848
89	5.767	121	7.840	153	6.914
90	5.832	122	7.905	154	9.978
91	5.896	123	7.970	155	10.044
92	5.961	124	8.035	156	10.108
93	6.026	125	8.100	157	10.173
94	6.091	126	8.164	158	10.238
95	6.156	127	8.229	159	10.303
96	6.220	128	8.294	160	10.368
97	6.285	129	8.359	161	10.432
98	6.350	130	8.424	162	10.497
99	6.415	131	8.488	163	10.562
100	6.480	132	8.553	164	10.626
101	6.544	133	8.618	165	10.691
102	6.609	134	8.682	166	10.756
103	6.674	135	8.747	167	10.821
104	6.739	136	8.812	168	10.886
105	6.804	137	8.877	169	10.951
106	6.868	138	8.942	170	11.016
107	6.933	139	9.007	171	11.080
108	6.998	140	9.072	172	11.145
109	7.063	141	9.136	173	11.209
110	7.128	142	9.200	174	11.274

APPENDIX—VII

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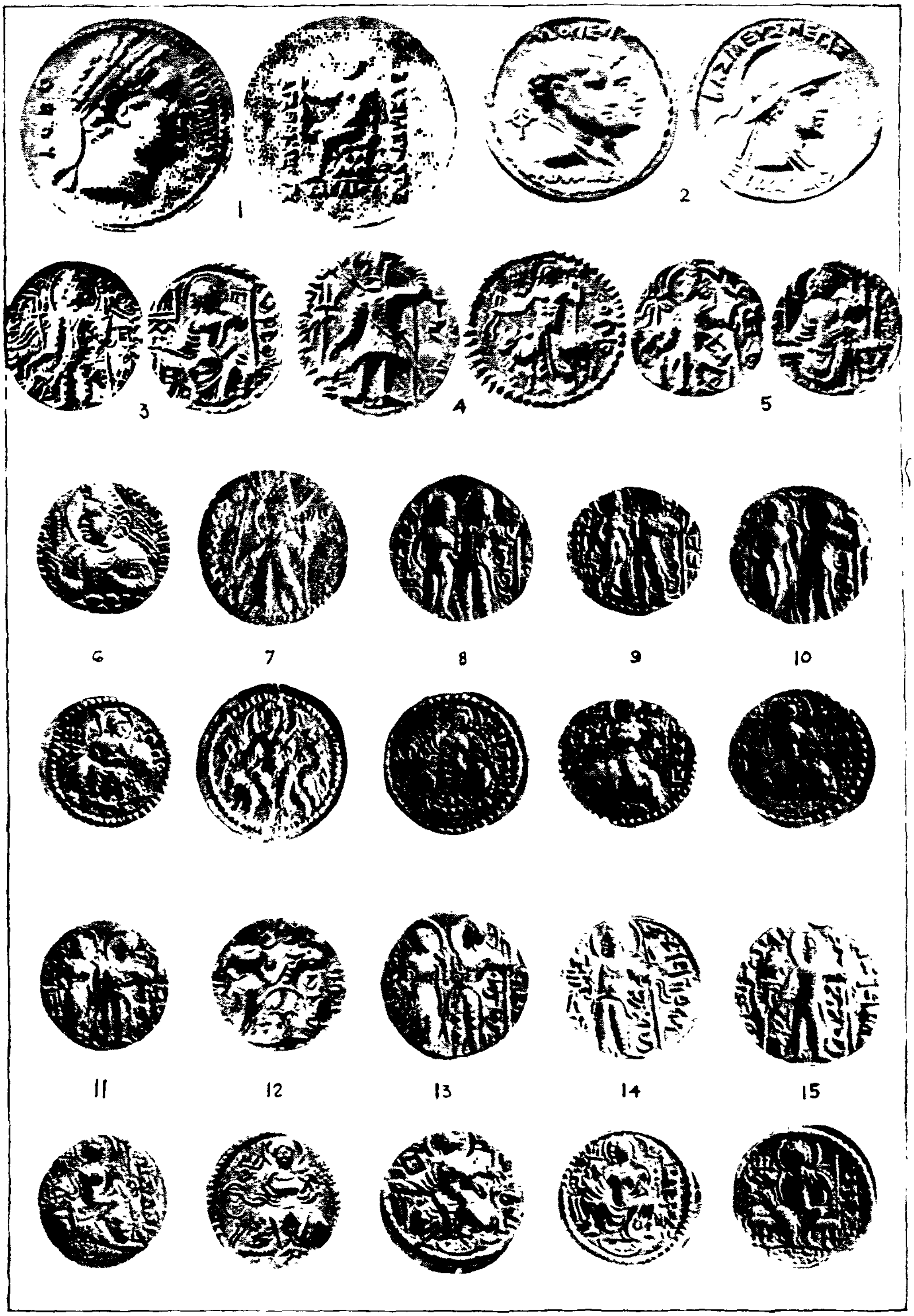
(See also pp. 357–9 of the Corrigenda)

Page	Line	For	Read
3	4	A King	Some hold that a king
10	35	Kumāragupta III	Kumāragupta
23	7	Vishṇu	Chakrapurusha
29	25	convincin	convincing
33	Folio line	II	III
55	19	Add'Pl. XXIII. 49' at the end of the line.	
59	8	Samudragupta	Samudra
91	Read this chapter after the next.		
111	11	Add 'Pl. XXI. 13' at the end of the line.	
118	7	*raṇ ejayati*	*raṇe jayati*
118	19	*jayati*	*jayati* (Pl. XXIV. 1)
121	37	Addenda	Appendix II, p. 344
121	37	Plate XIX	Plate XIX. 8
122	34	Pl. VII. 1	Pl. III. 11
134	12	*Pta*	*Pta-*
134	20	*Rupa*	*Rūpa*
137	4	vereity	variety
140	10	Coims	Coins
141	14	66	4
140	11	Pl. VI	Pl. IV
149	Folio	type	types
162	29	J.B.B.R.S.	J.B.O.R.S.
168	10	*Kumāraḥ*	*Kumāraḥ*(Pl. XXIII.42)
170	6	*dhoti*	*dhoti*, and holding.
175	27	unlikely	not unlikely.
178	6	Add at the end of the line, Pl. XXIV. 57	
181	18	Add at the end of the line, with low back.	
182	7	Pl. XXIV. 1	*B.H.*, Pl. XXIV. 1

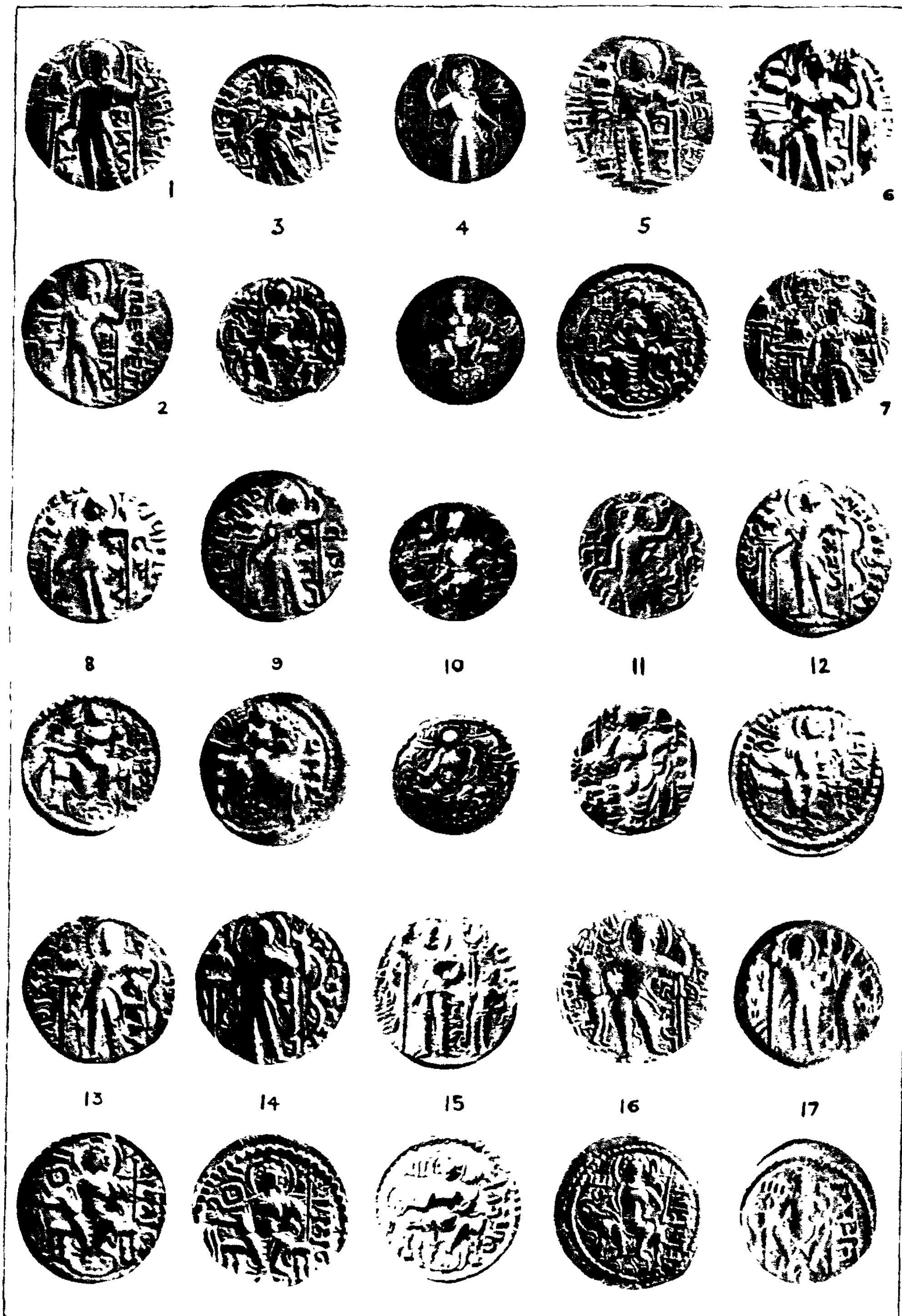
182	24	hand	hand and sword in the r.
187	26	reclining on	reclining on l.
203	6	Kartikeya	Kārtikeya
208	27	67	76
211	15	Drop śrī at the end of the line.	
228	13	Class IV	Class V
230	30	Class VI	Class V
232	4	Class VII	Class VI
233	1	Class VIII	Class VII
254	9	Add at the end of the line 'and *Parama (bhāgavata-śrī)-Skandagupta in* var. C'	
264	10	weight not known	weight, 141.22 grains
267	4	Bhitari seal	Bhitari and Nālandā seals.
268	7	No. 10	No. 9
279	15	to	to l.
282	26	legend	legend, *Para ... śrī-dvādaśādityaḥ.*
282	30	Add 'Pl. XXI. 27' at the end of the	
Pl. XIV	3	Horseman (?)	Horseman



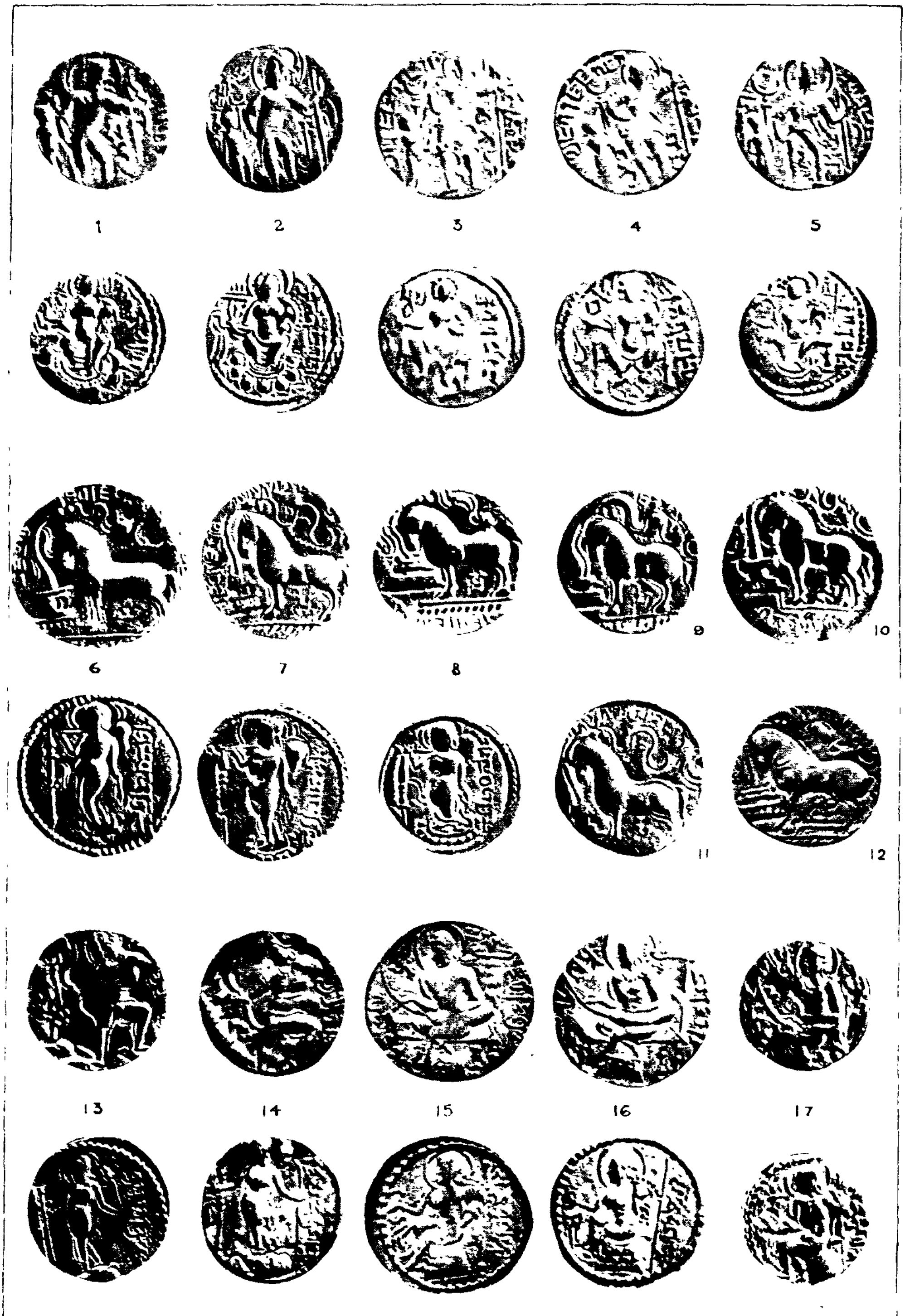
PLATE I



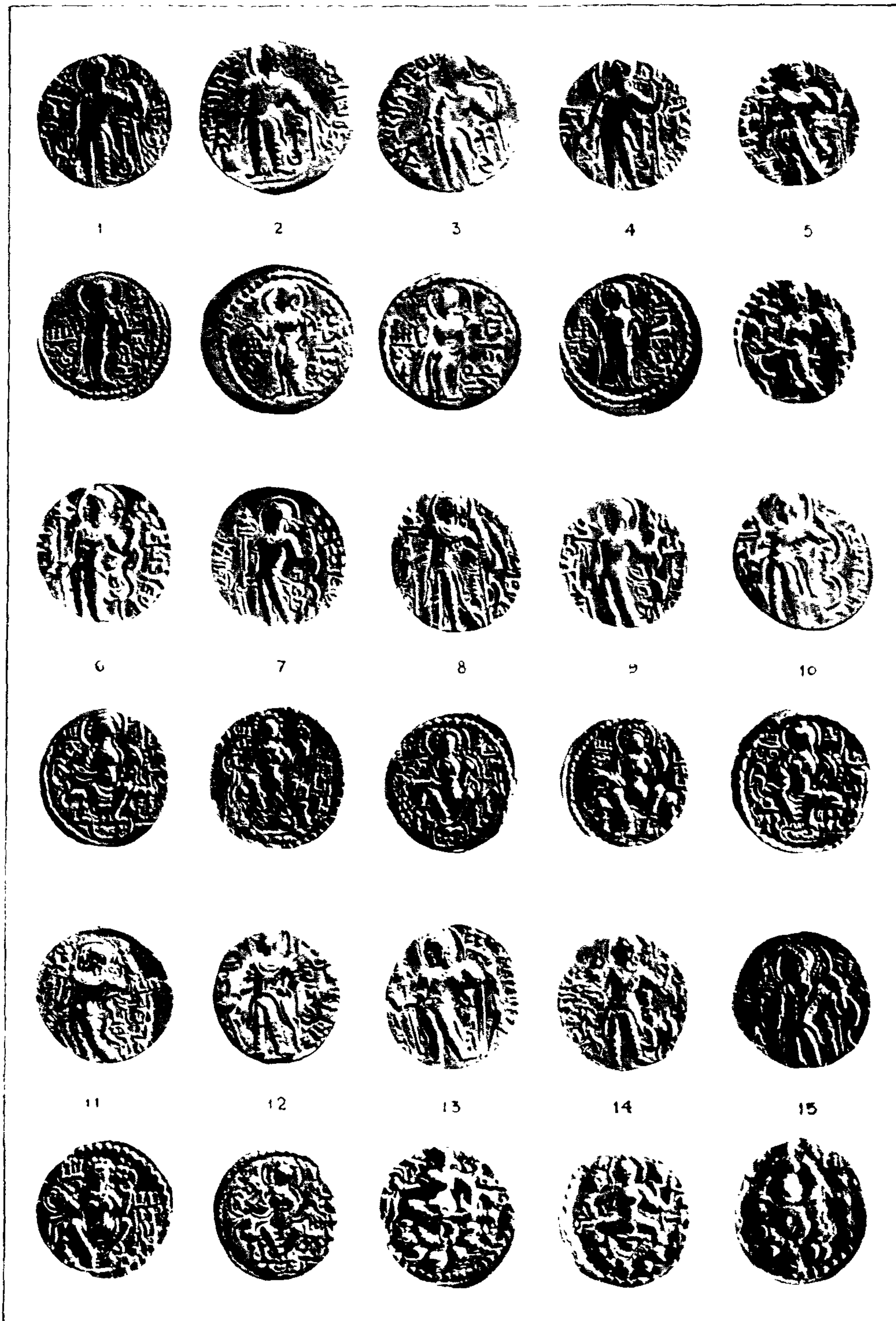
Some Coins of Predecessors, (1-7), Chandragupta I; (8-13);
Samudragupta; Standard type 14-15



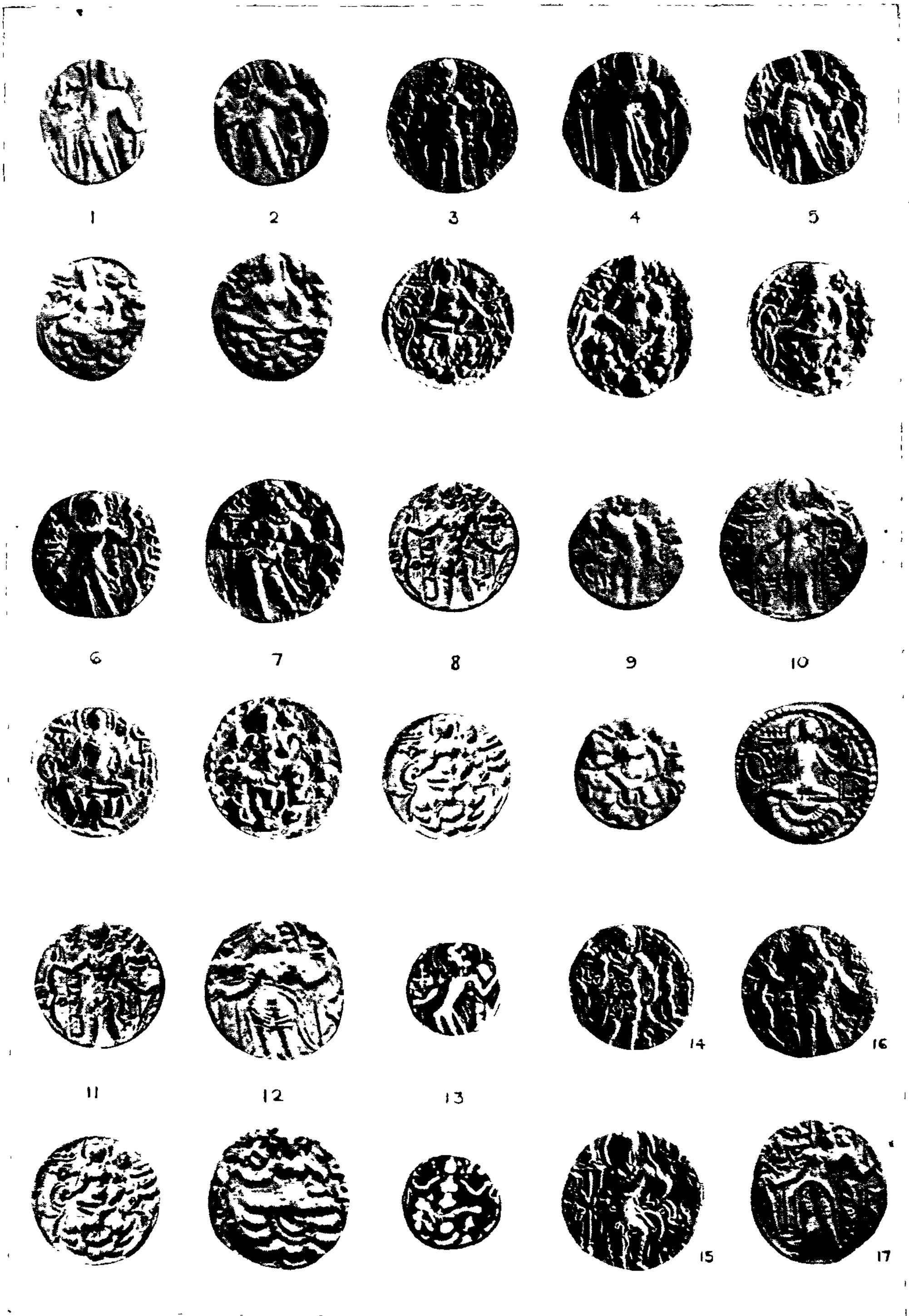
Samudragupta; Standard (1-11), Archer (12-14) and Battle-axe (16-17) types



Samudragupta; Battle-axe (1–5), Asvamedha (6–12) Tiger-slayer (13–14) and Lyrist (15–17) types

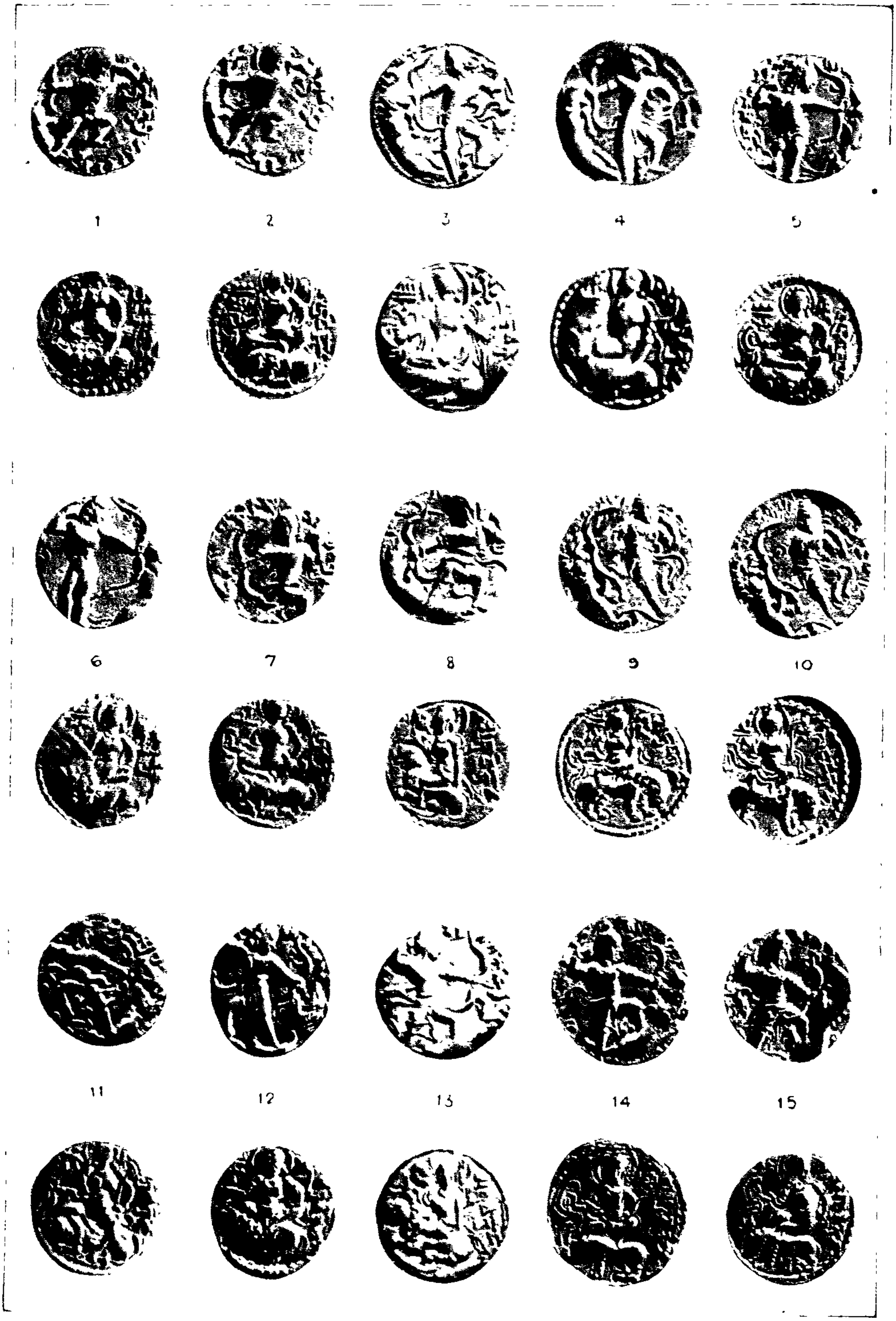


Kācha; (1 5); Chandragupta II; Archer type (6 15)



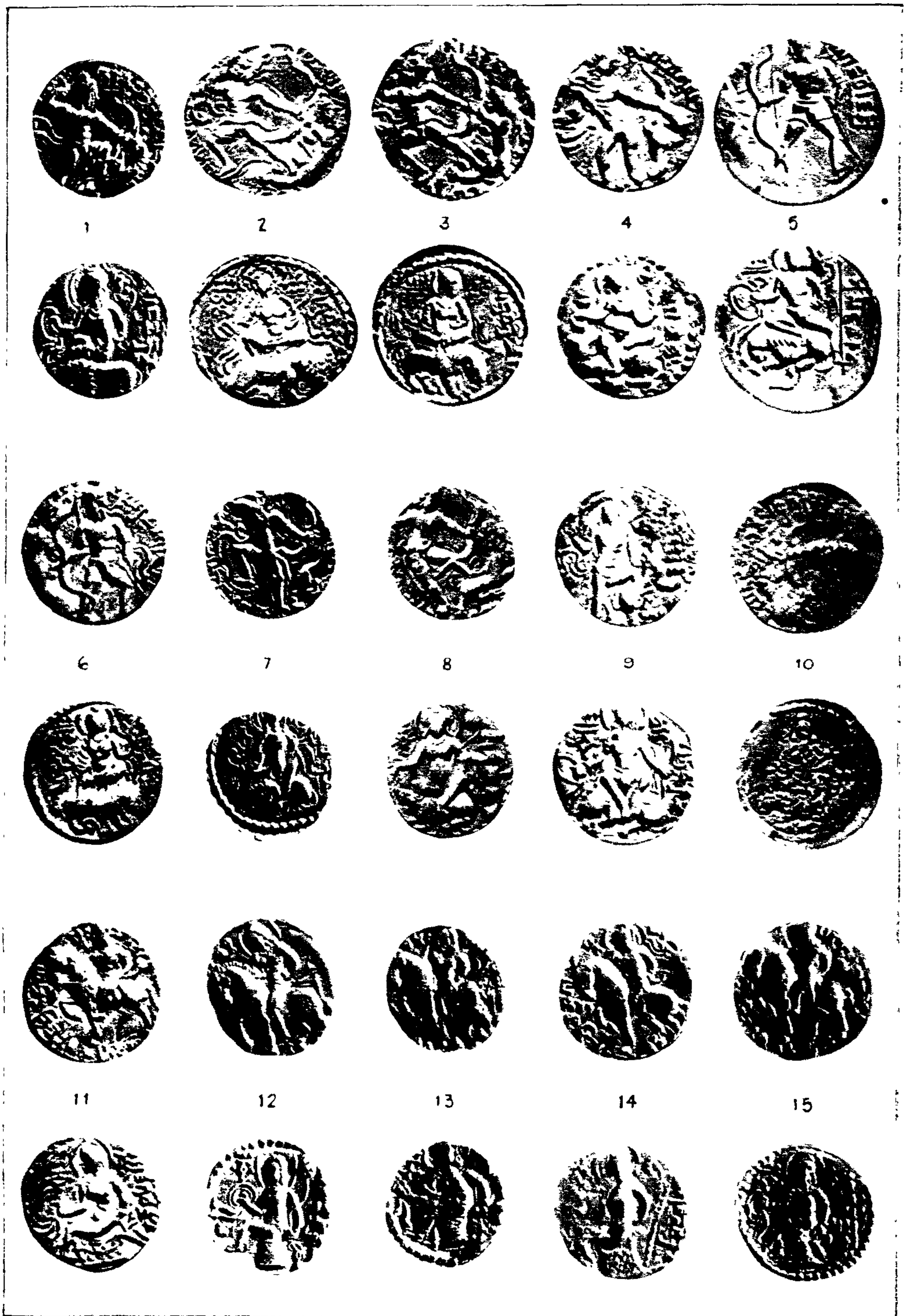
Chandragupta II Archer type (1-17)

PLATE VI

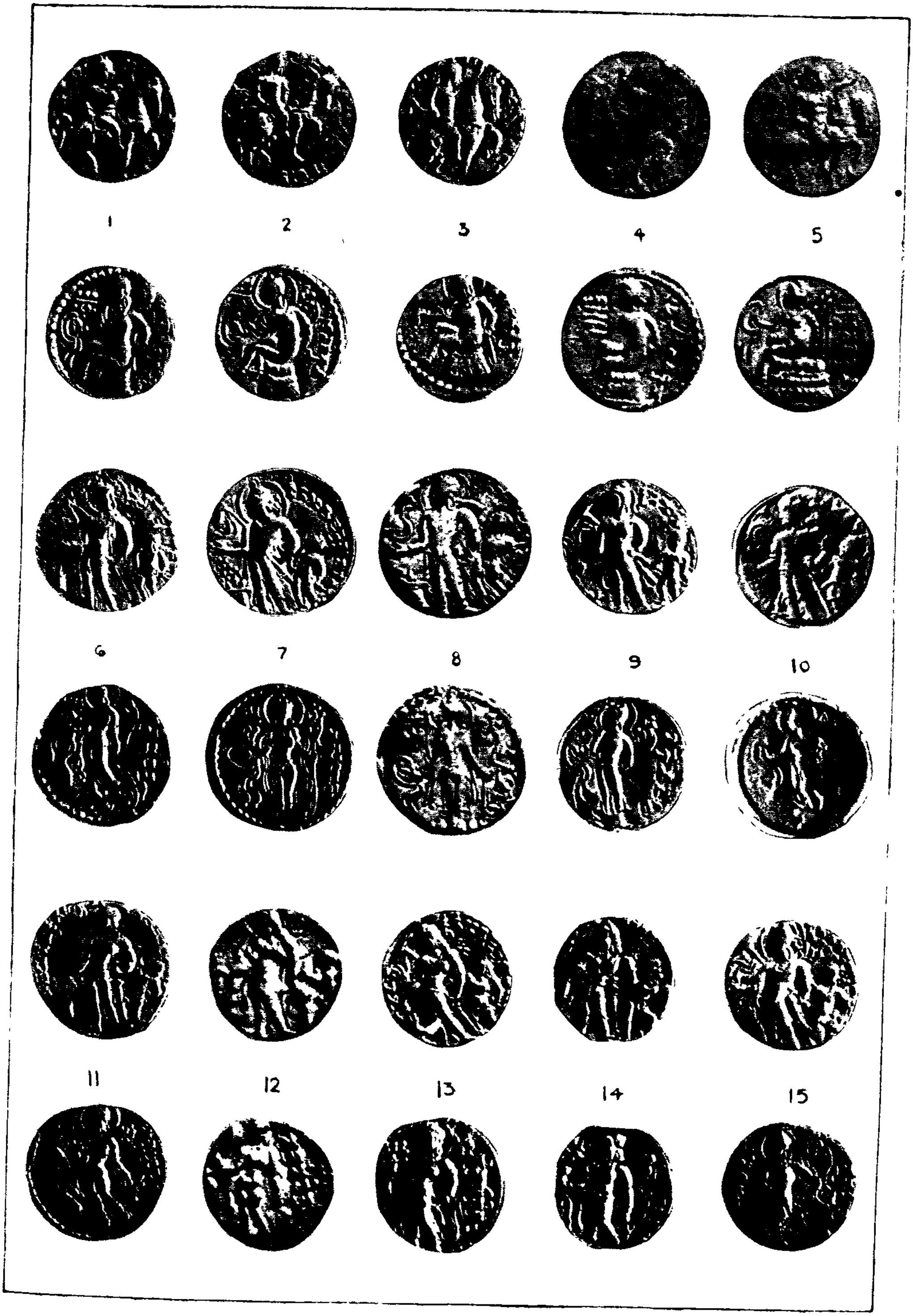


Chandragupta II Lion-slayer type (1-15)

PLATE VII

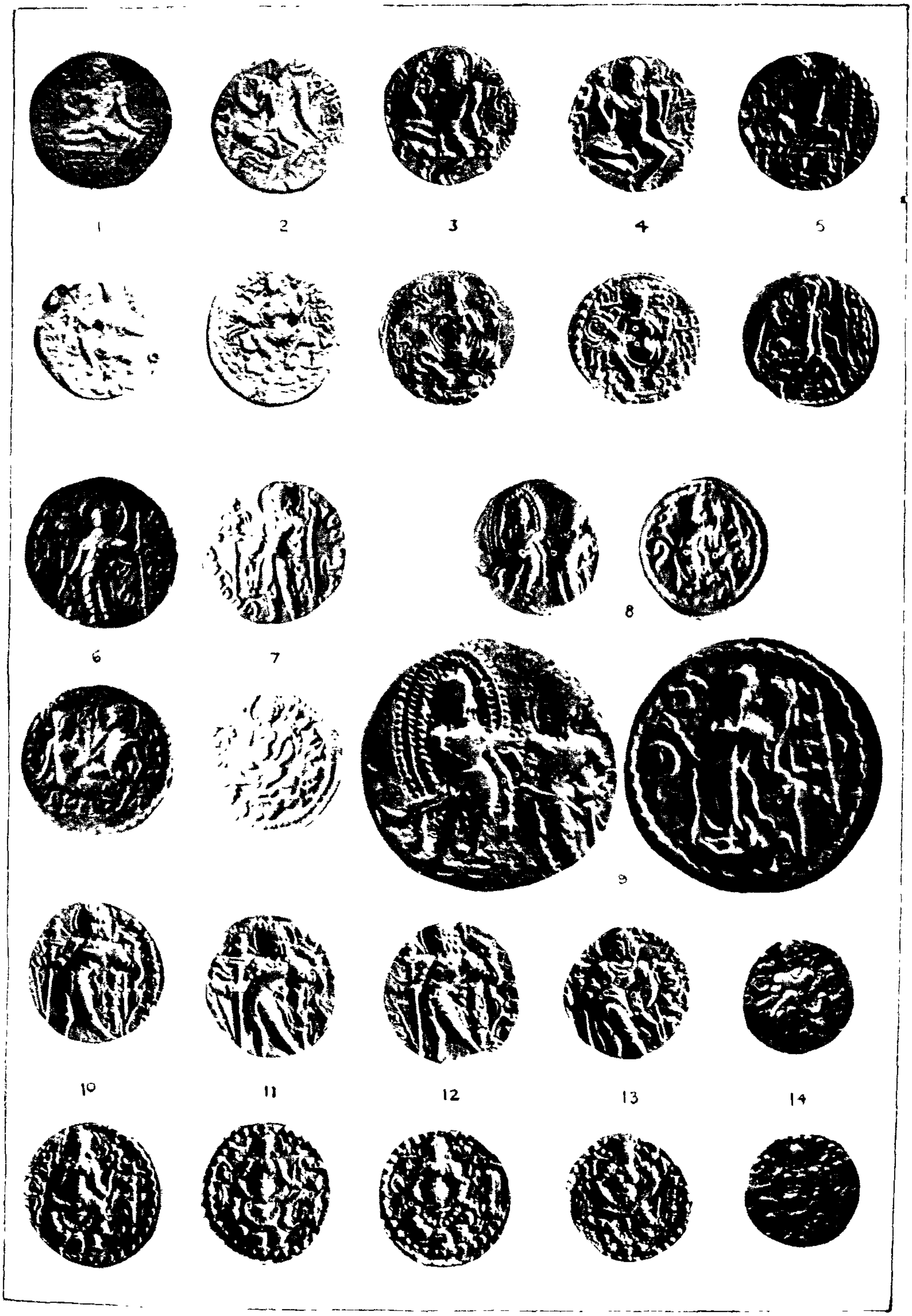


Chandragupta II Lion slayer (1-10) and Horseman (11-15) types



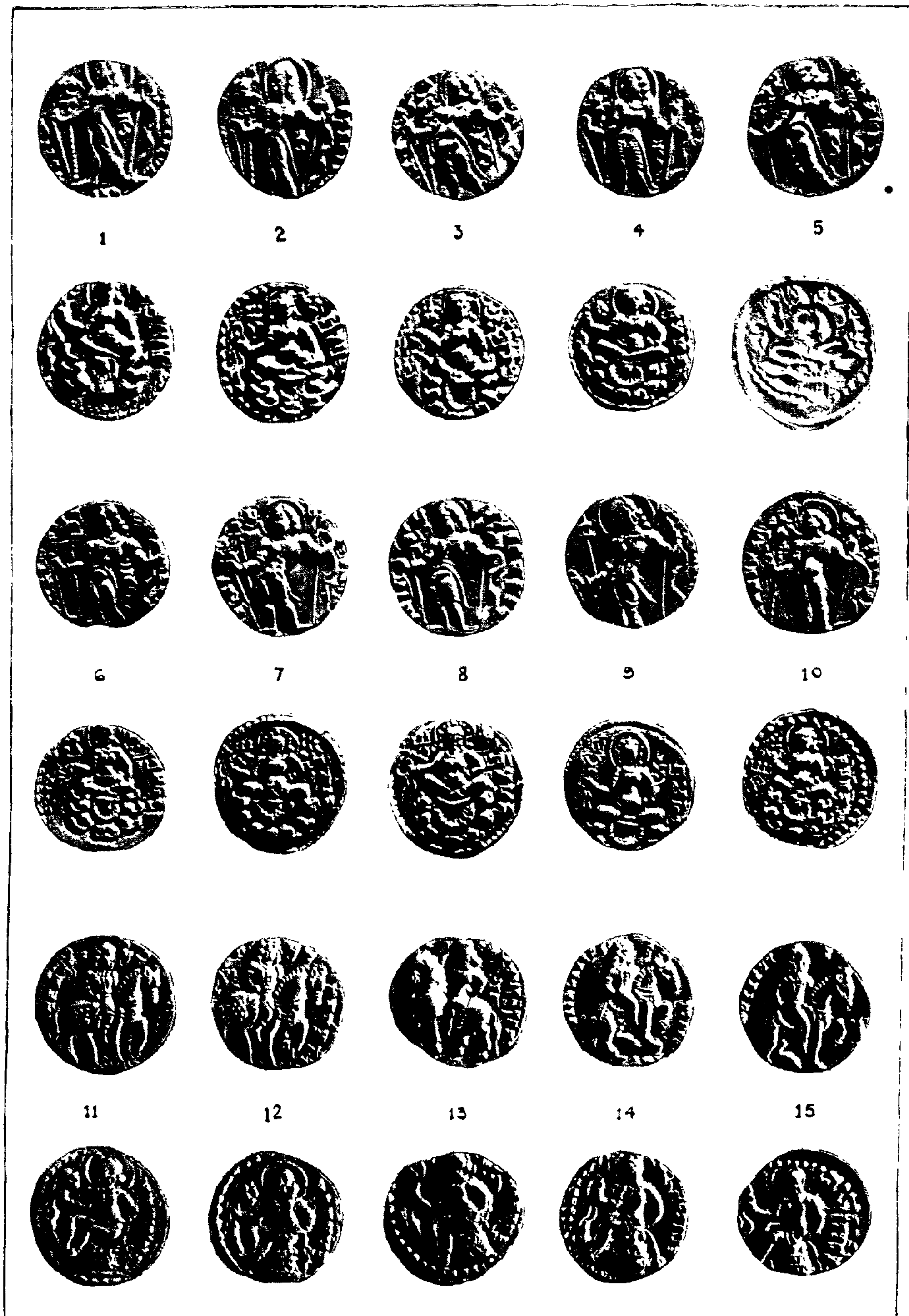
Chandragupta II Horseman (1-5) and Chhatra (6-15) types

PLATE IX

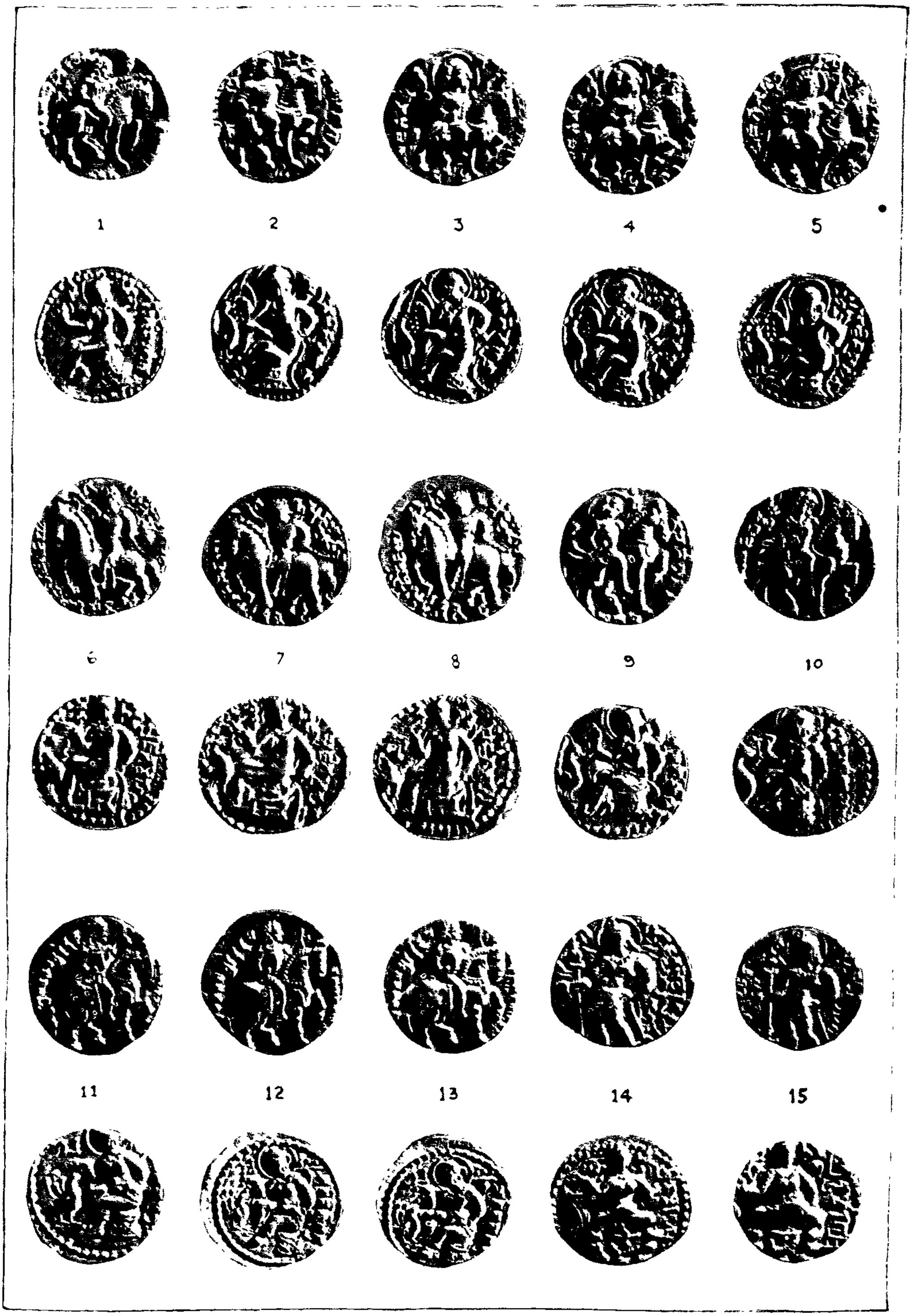


Chandragupta II Couch (1-5), King and Queen (6), Archer (7)
and Chakravikrama (8-9) types
Kumaragupta I, Archer type (10-14)

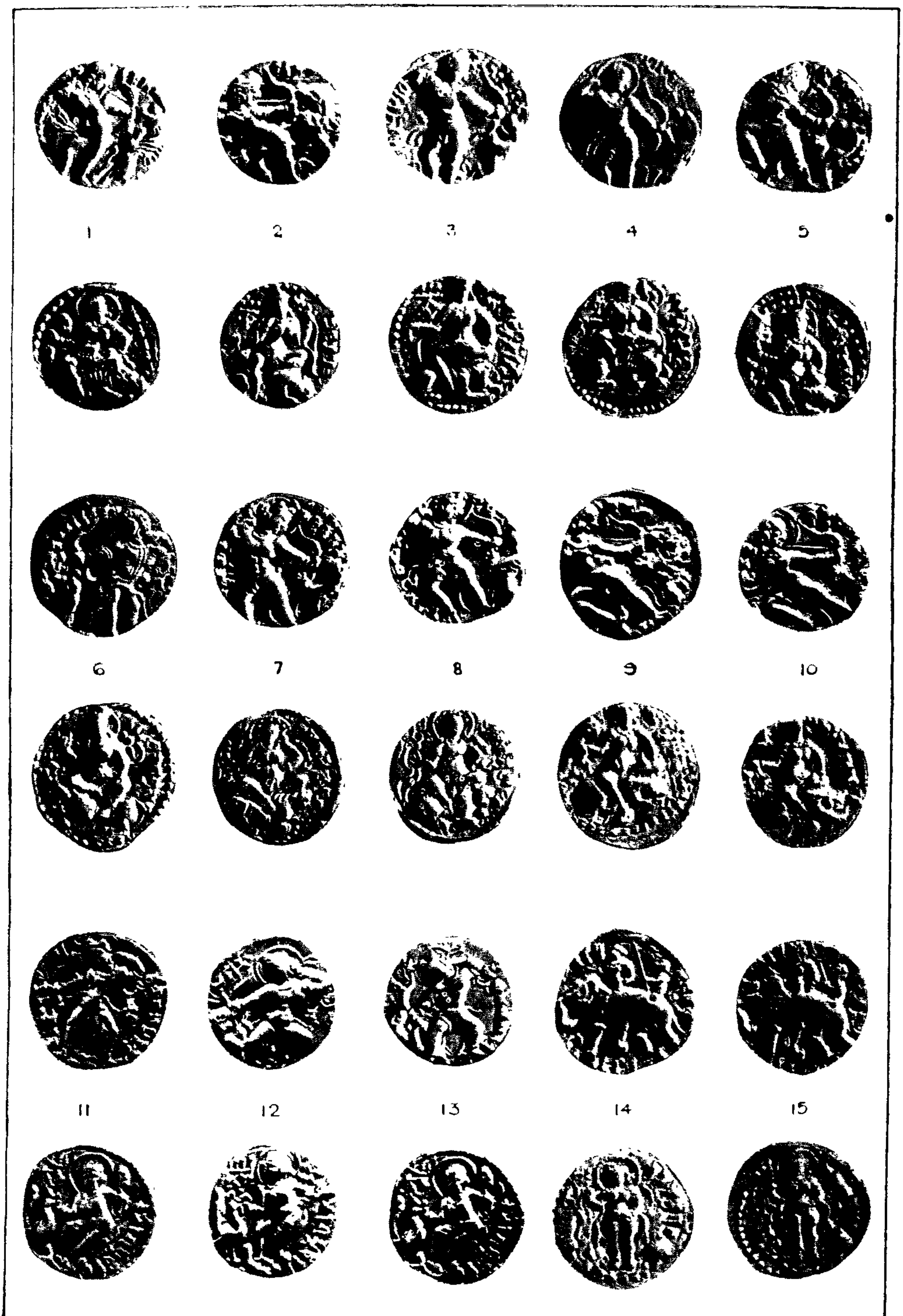
PLATE X



Kumāragupta I · Archer (1–10) and Horseman (11–15) types

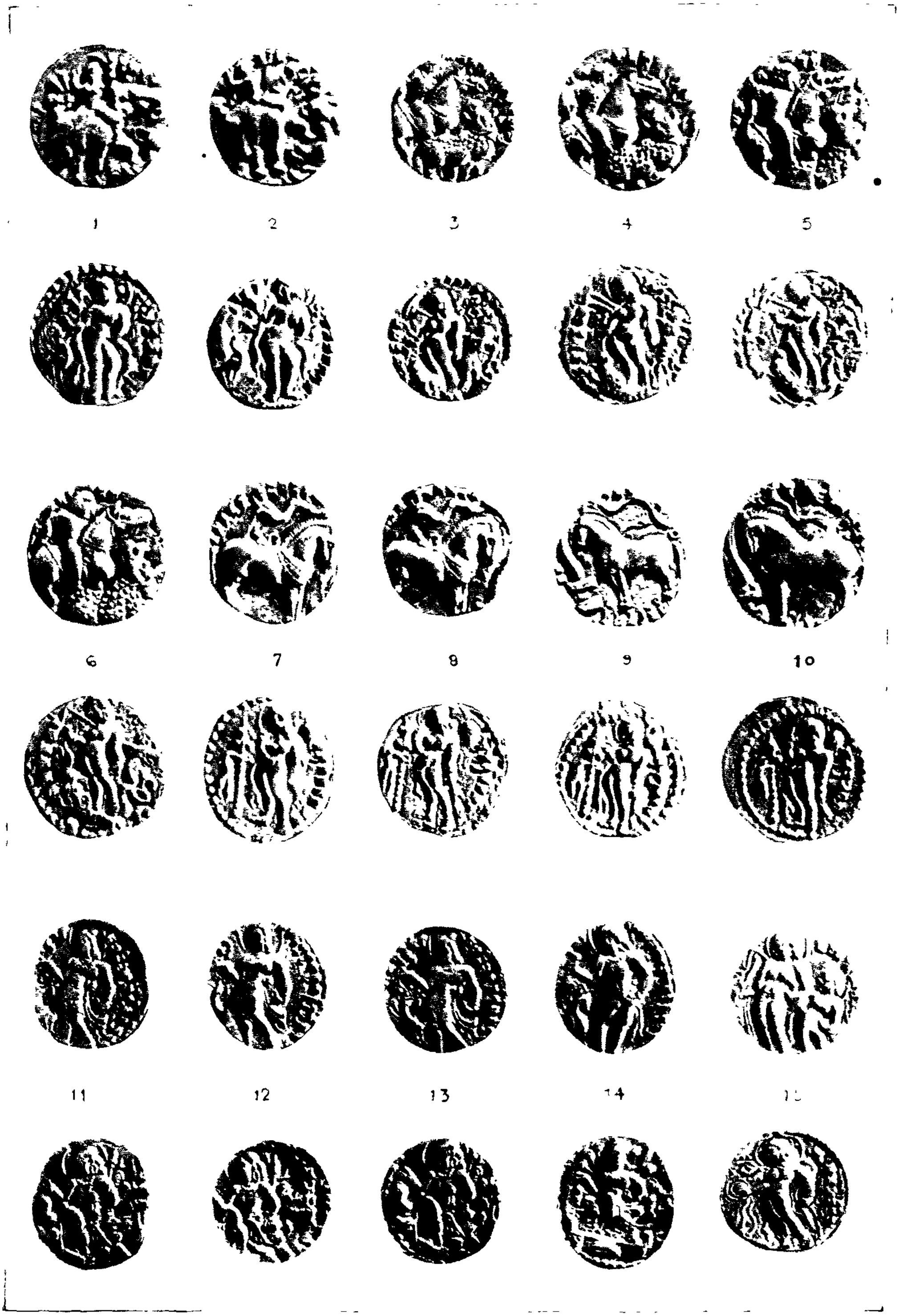


Kumāragupta I Horseman (1-13) and Swordsman (14-15) types



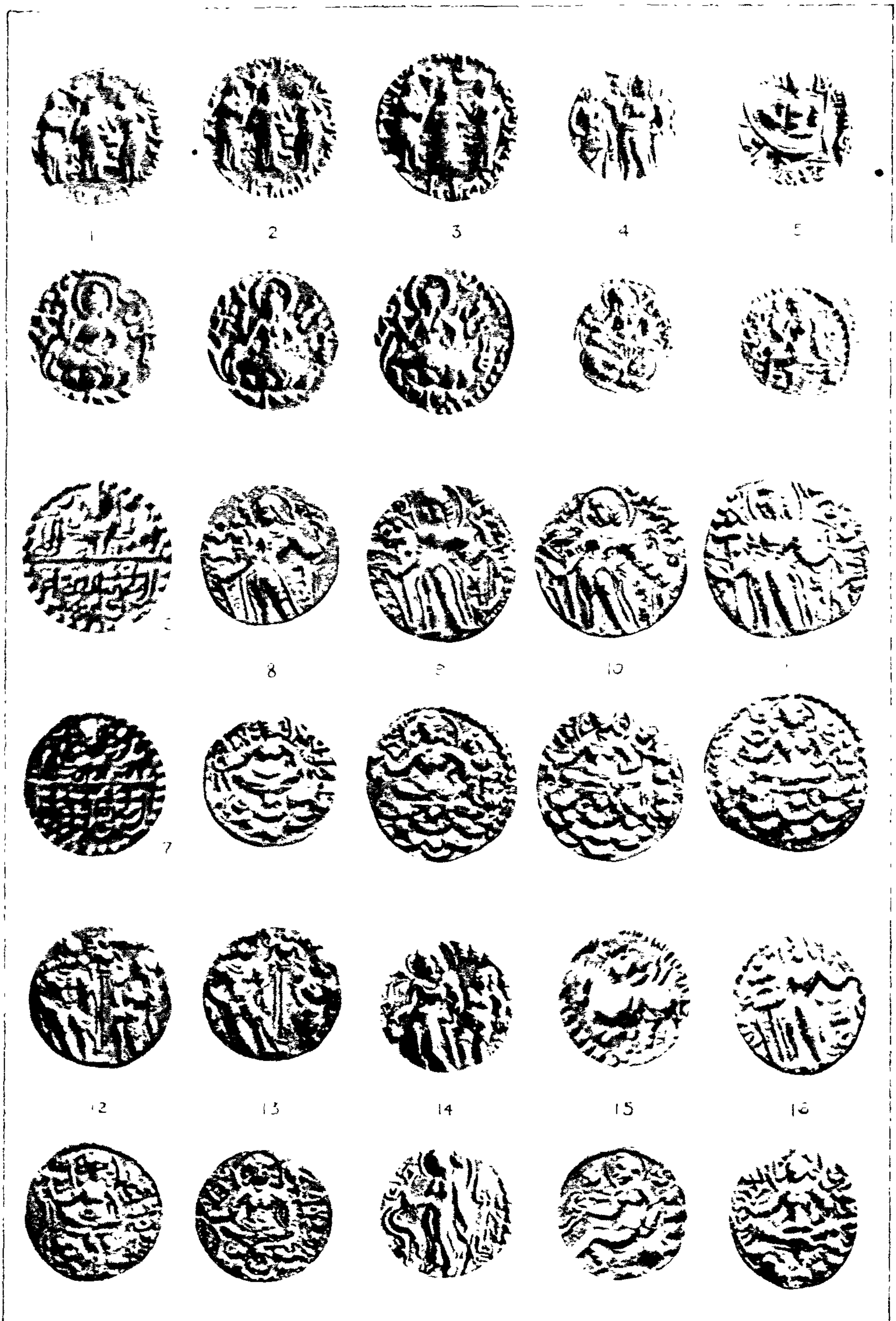
Kumāragupta I Lion slayer (1-10), Tiger-slayer (11-13) and Elephant rider (14-15) types.

PLATE XIII



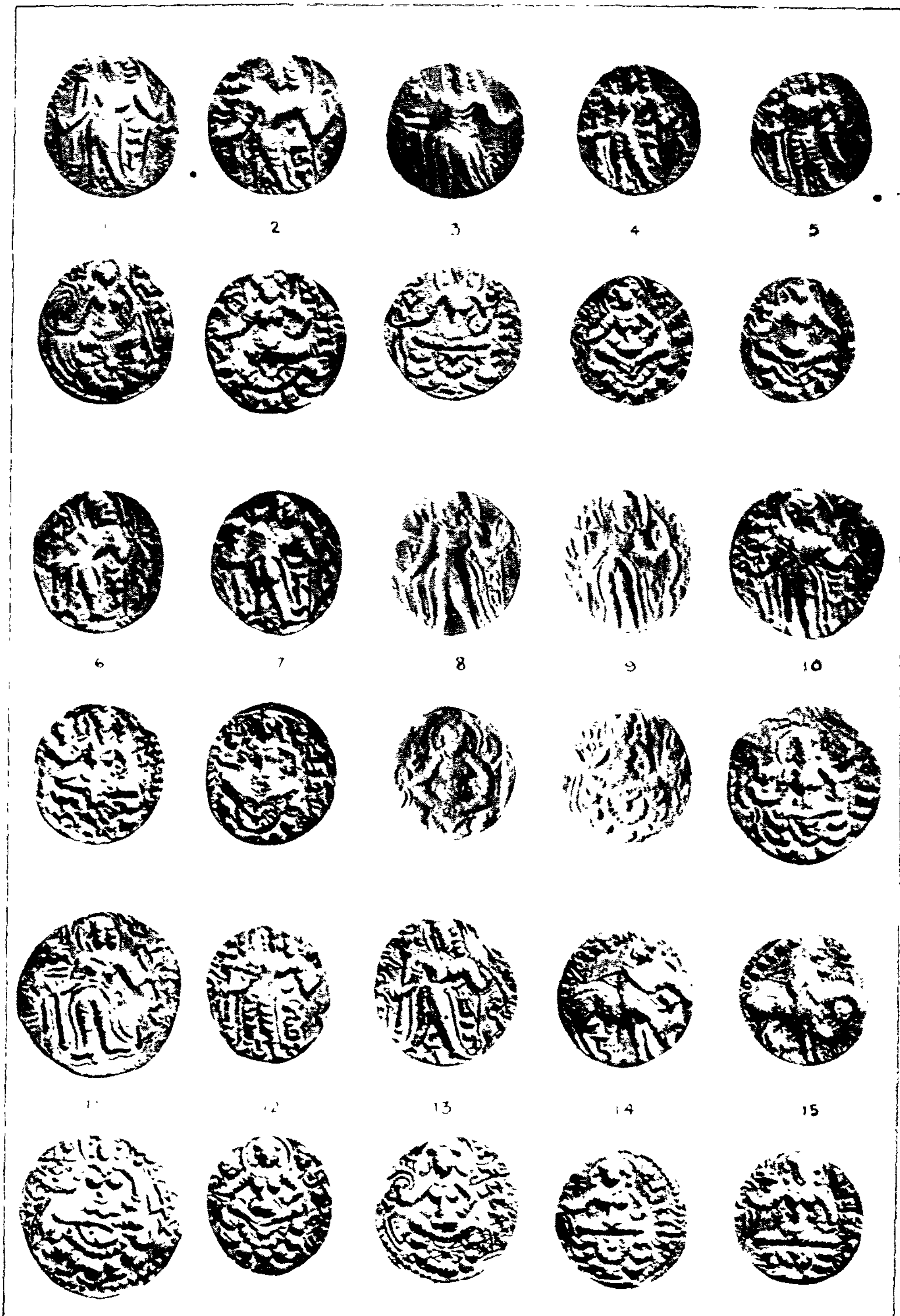
Kumāragupta I. Elephant-rider Lion-slayer (1-2), Rhinoceros slayer (3-6), Aśvamedha (7-10), Kārtikeya (11-14) and Chhatra (15) types

PLATE XIV



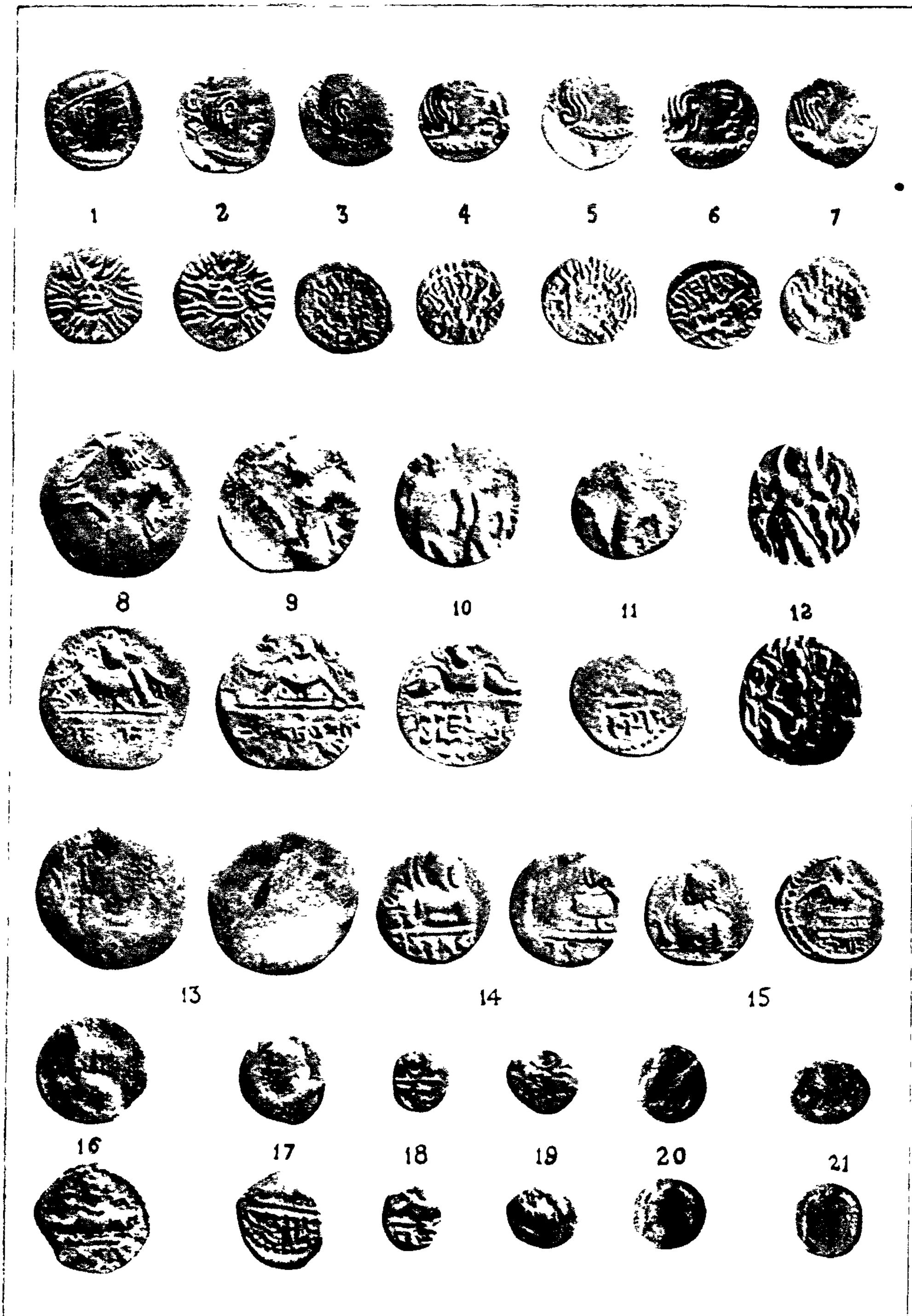
Kumaragupta I Apratigha (1-3) King-and-Queen (4) Lyrist (5) and [illegible] (6-7) types
Skandagupta Archer (9-11), King-and-Queen (12-13) and
Horseman? (15) types. Ghatotkachagupta? (16)

PLATE XV



Narasimhagupta (1–2), Kumāragupta II (3–7), Budhagupta (8–11), Vishnugupta (12), Vainyagupta (13) and Prakāś'āditya (14–15)

PLATE XVI



Chandragupta II Silver (1-7) and copper (8-19) coins. Rāmagupta Copper coins (20-21)

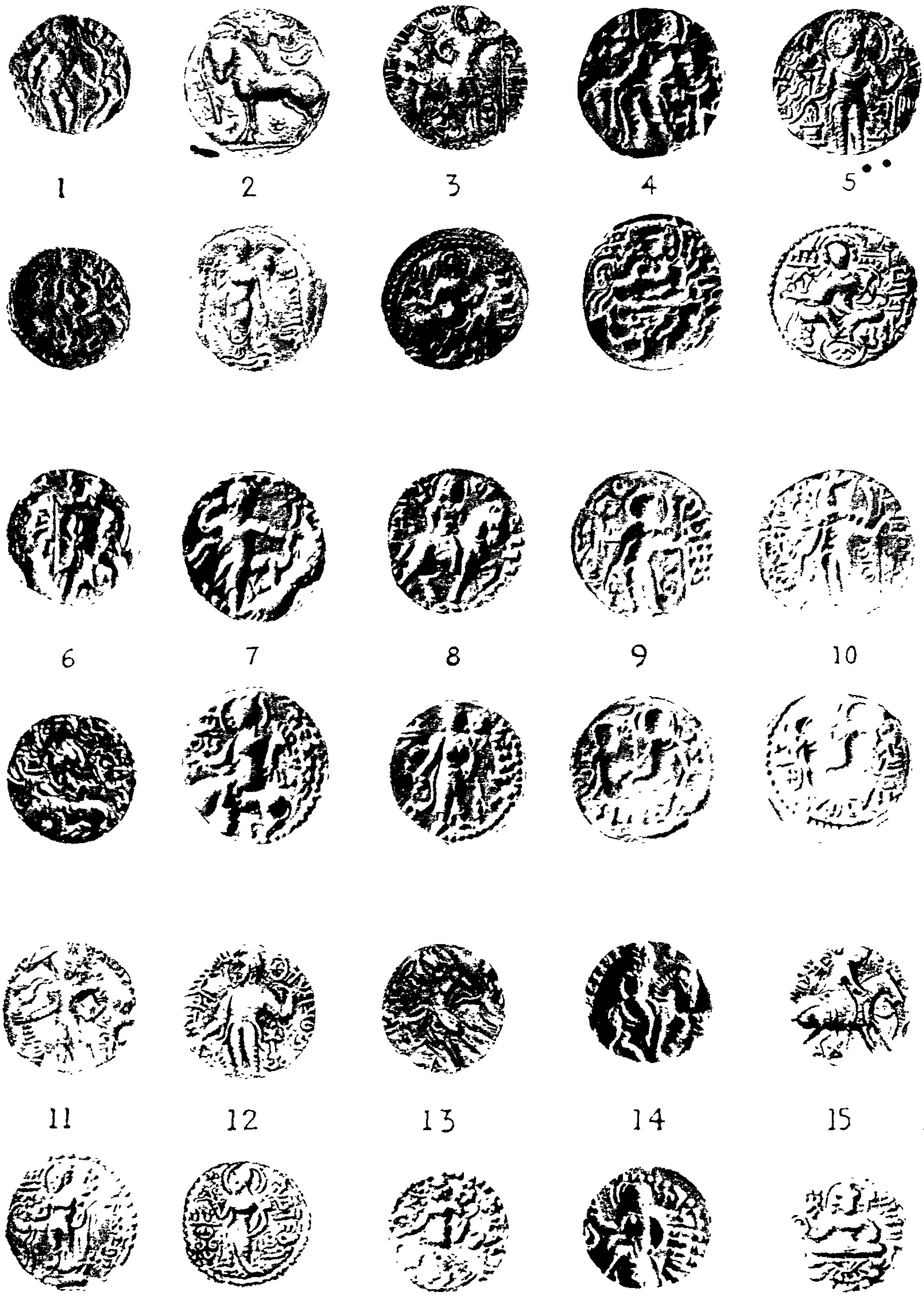


Kumaragupta I Silver (1–26) and silver-plated (27–28) coins

PLATE XVIII

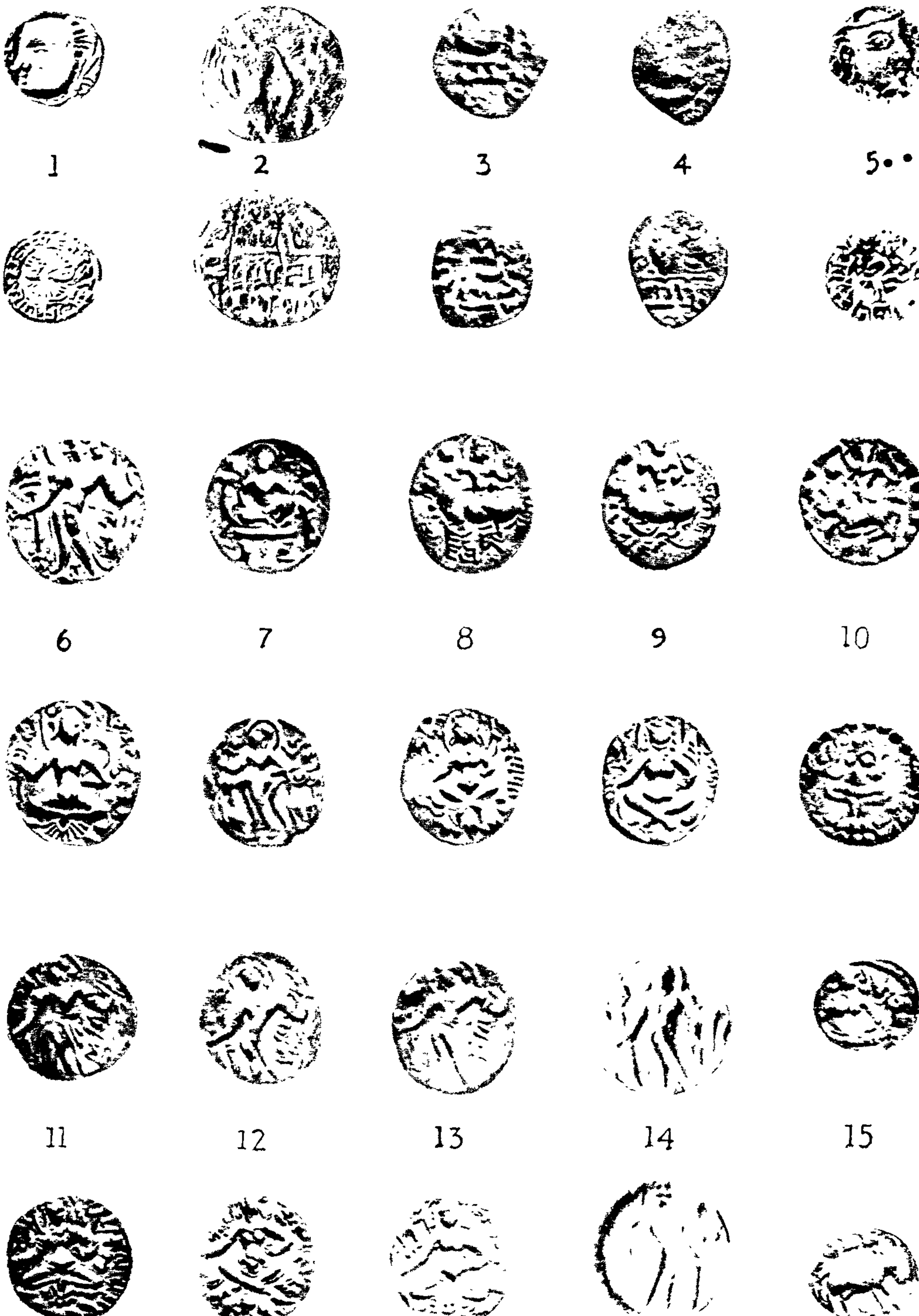


Kumaragupta I Copper coins (1-5) Skandagupta (6-25) and Budhagupta (26-29) silver coins



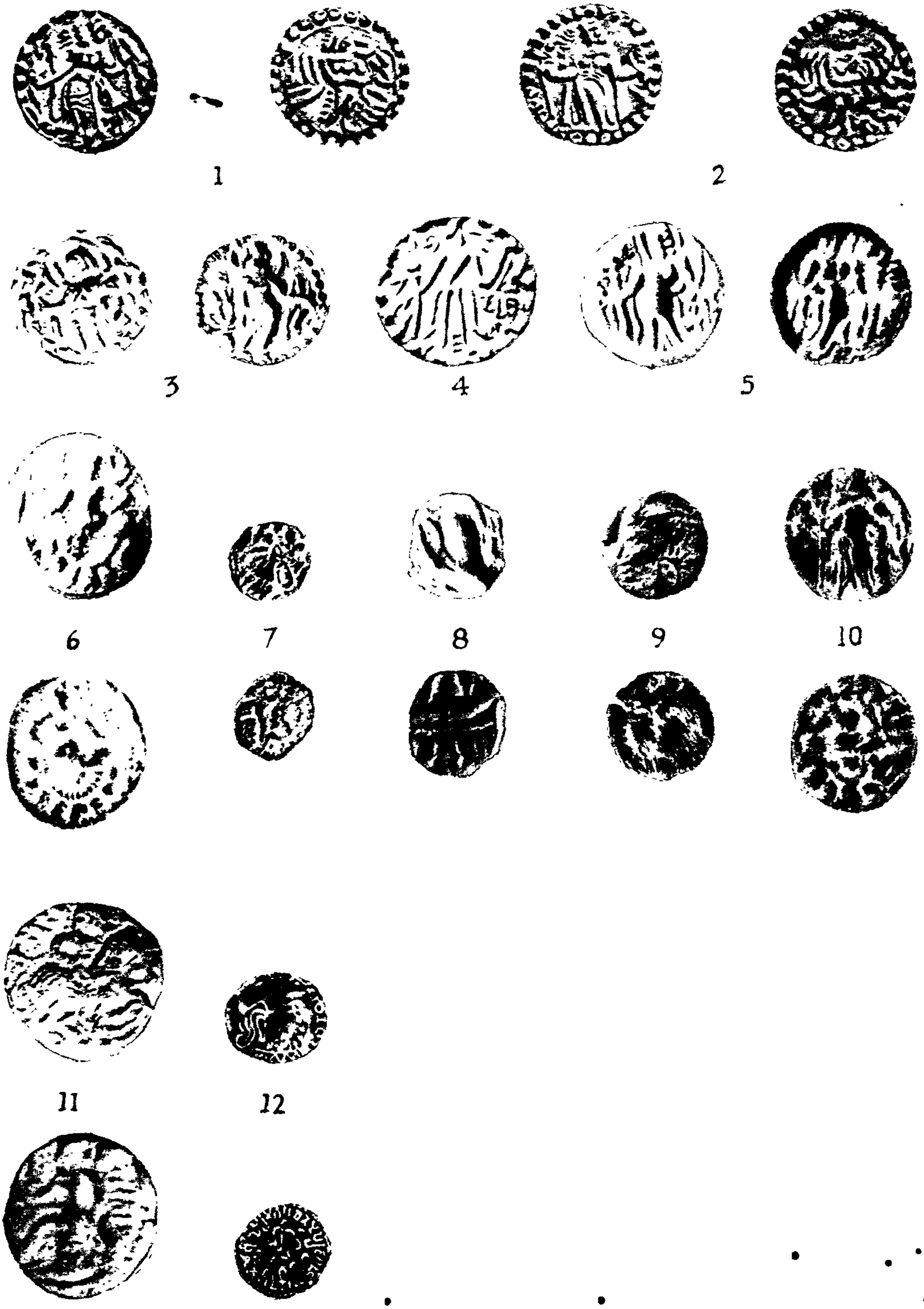
SUPPLEMENTARY GUPTA COINS

PLATE XIX A



IMITATIONS OF GUPTA COINS

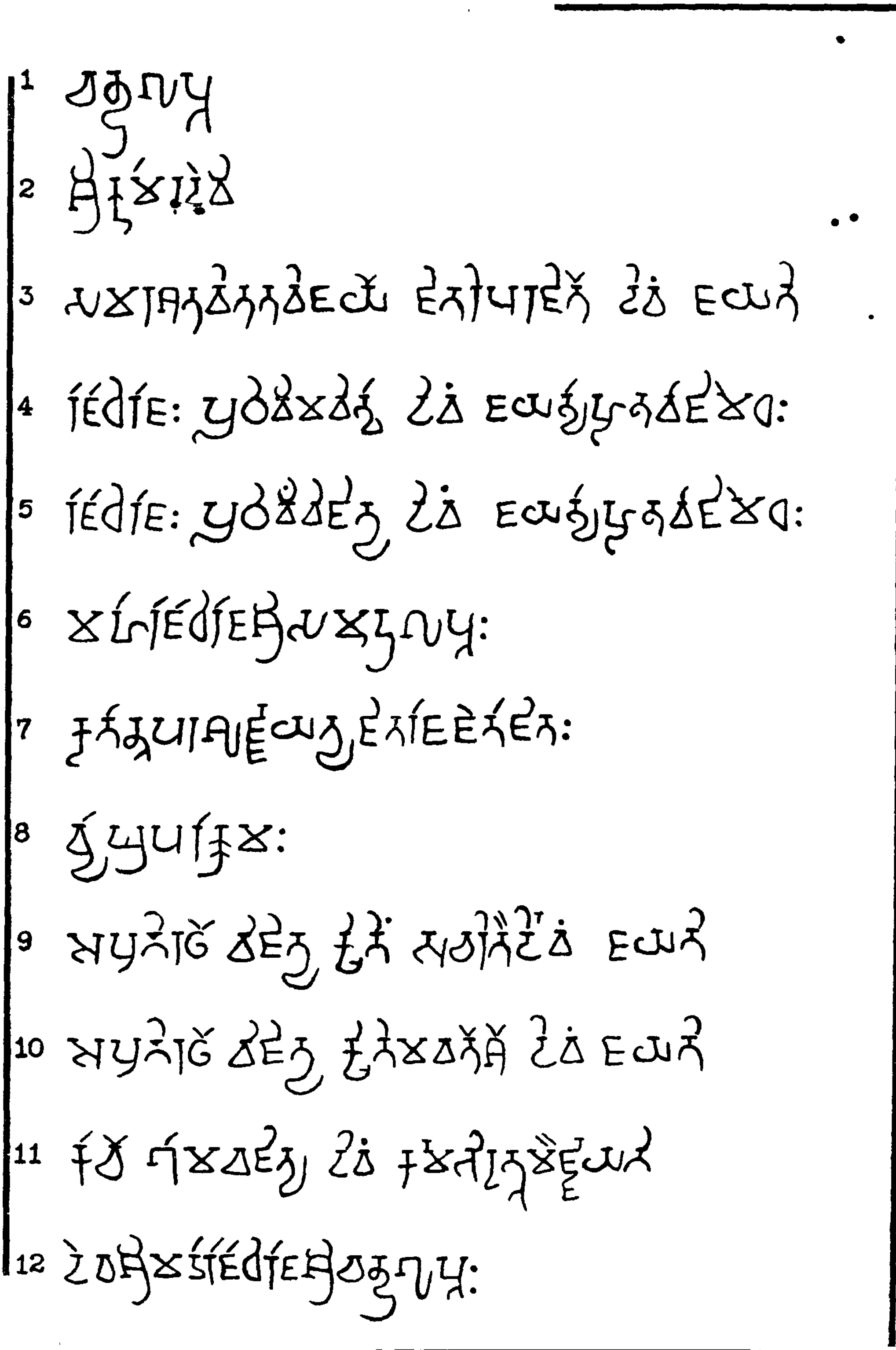
PLATE XIX B



GUPTA IMITATIONS AND SUPPLEMENTARY

Devanāgari and Roman renderings of Pl. XX.

1. चन्द्रगुप्तः । P. 33
   Chandraguptaḥ.
2. श्रीकुमारदेवी । P. 33
   Śrī-Kumāradevī.
3. समरशतविततविजयो जितरिपुरजितो दिवं जयति । Pp. 47-8
   Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripurajito divaṁ jayati.
4. राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा दिवं जयत्याहृतवाजिमेधः । P. 67
   Rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīmatitvā divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavāji-medhaḥ.
5. राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्याहृतवाजिमेधः । P. 67
   Rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīṁ vijitya divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavāji-medhaḥ.
6. महाराजाधिराजः श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः । P. 57
   Mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrī-Samudraguptaḥ.
7. कृतान्तपरशुर्जयत्यजितराजजेताऽजितः । P. 58
   Kṛitāntaparaśurjayatyajitarājajetāt'jitaḥ.
8. व्याघ्रपराक्रमः । P. 72
   Vyāghraparākaramaḥ.
9. अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति । P. 59
   Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitairdivaṁ jayati.
10. अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिमवनीशो दिवं जयति । P. 59
    Apratiratho vijitya kshitimavanīśo divaṁ jayati.
11. काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्ज्जयति । P. 67
    Kācho gāmavajitya divaṁ karmabhiruttamairjayati.
12. देवश्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः । P. 93
    Devaśrīmahārājādhirājaśrī-Chandraguptaḥ.

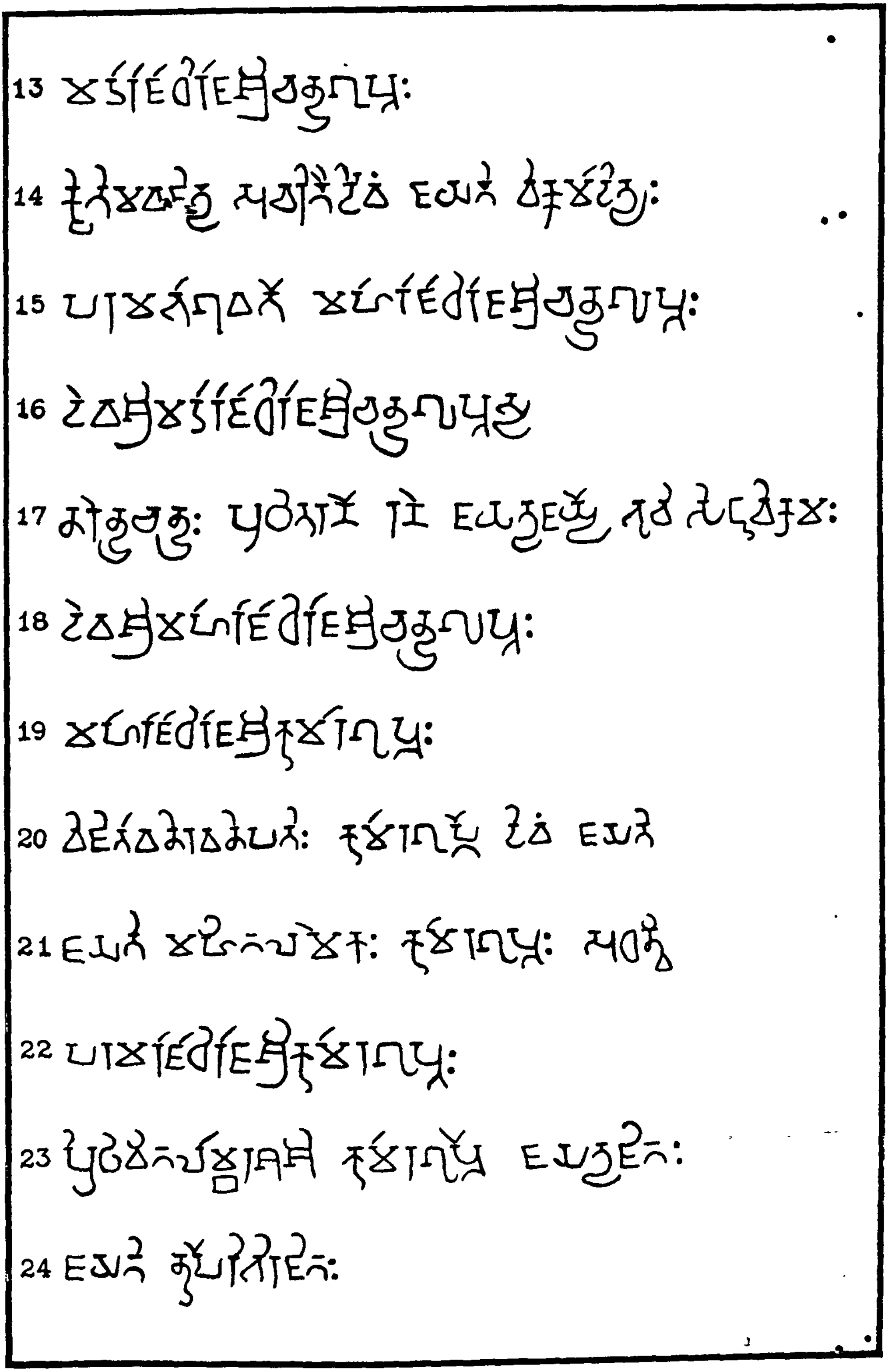


1–2: Chandragupta I: obverse
3–10: Samudragupta; obverse
11: Kācha: obverse. 12; Chandragupta II, gold coins, obverse

Devanāgari and Roman renderings of Pl. XXI.

13. महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः । P. 111, P. 129
Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandragupaḥ.
14. क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्क्रमादित्यः । P. 130
Kshitimavajitya sucharitairdiavaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.
15. परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः । Pp. 123, 165
Paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ
16. देवश्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य । P. 135
Devaśrīmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya.
17. नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः प्रथितरणो रणे जयत्यजय्यो भुवि सिंहविक्रमः । P. 110
Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajayyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ.
18. देवश्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः । P. 115
Devaśrīmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.
19. महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तः । P. 168
Mahārājādhirājaśrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.
20. विजितावनिरवनिपतिः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 168
Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.
21. जयति महीतलमेकः श्रीकुमारगुप्तः सुधन्वी । P. 168
Jayati mahītalamekaḥ śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī.
22. परमराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तः । P. 168
Paramarājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.
23. पृ[1]थिवीतलाम्बरशशी कुमारगुप्तो जयत्यजितः । P. 174
Pṛithvītalāmbaraśaśī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ.
24. जयति नृपोऽरिभिरजितः । P. 175
Jayati nṛipo'ribhirajitaḥ.

1. The engraver has wrongly engraved पि instead of the correct form पृ.



13–18. Chandragupta II; gold coins, obverse
19–24: Kumāragupta I; gold coins, obverse

Devanāgari and Roman renderings of Pl. XXII.

25. क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 175
Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

26. गुप्तकुलव्योमशशी जयत्यजेयो जितमहेन्द्रः । P. 176
Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatyajeyo jitamahendraḥ.

27. क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी कुमारगुप्तो जयत्यजितः । Pp. 176-7
Kshitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ.

28. गुप्तकुलामलचन्द्रो महेन्द्रकर्माजितो जयति । P. 176
Guptakulāmalachandro Mahendrakarmā'jito jayati.

29. पृथिवीतलेश्वरेन्द्रः कुमारगुप्तो जयत्यजितः । P. 177
Pṛithivītaleśvarendraḥ Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ.

30. साक्षादिव नरसिंहः सिंहमहेन्द्रो जयत्यनिशं । P. 187
Sākśhādiva narasiṁhaḥ siṁhamahendro jayatyaniśaṁ.

31. कुमारगुप्तो युधि सिंहविक्क्रमः । P. 186
Kumāragupto yudhi siṁhavikramaḥ.

32. क्षितिपतिरजितमहेन्द्रः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति[1] । P. 186
Kshitipatirajitamahendraḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati

33. जयति स्वगुणैर्गुणारविन्दः (?) श्रीमहेन्द्रकुमारः । P. 205
Jayati svaguṇairguṇāravindaḥ (?) śrī-Kumāra-mahendraḥ.

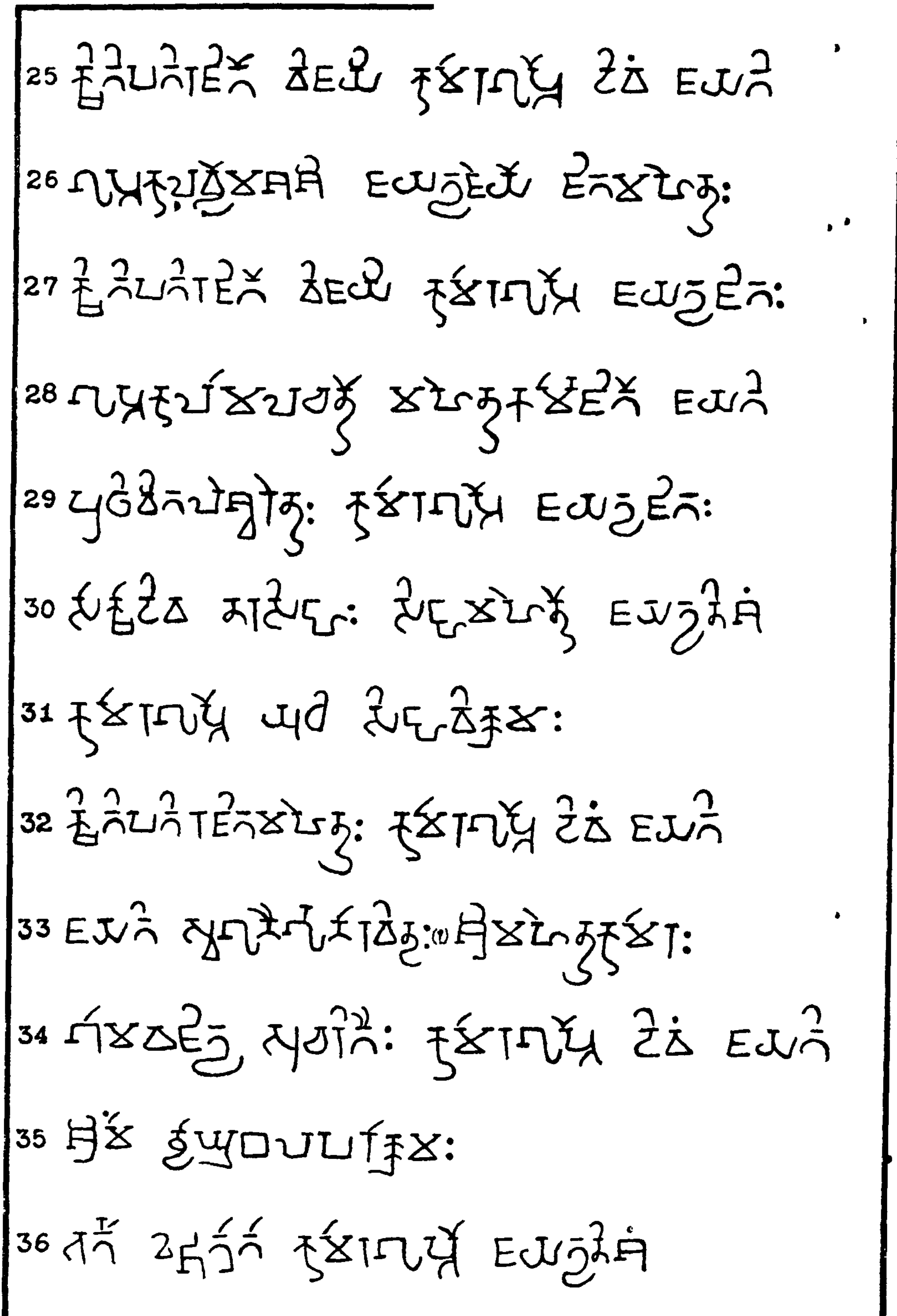
34. गामवजित्य सुचरितैः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 184
Gāmavajitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

35. श्रीमाँ व्याघ्रबलपराक्क्रमः । P. 192
Śrīmāṁ vygāhrabalaparākramaḥ.

36. भर्ता खड्गत्राता कुमारगुप्तो जयत्यनिशं । P. 198
Bhartā khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśaṁ.

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1. On the coins of this variety described on pp. 187-8, only the word क्षितिपति occurs; the full legend given here is based upon its conjectural restoration by Mr. J. Allan.



25–36; Kumāragupta I; gold coins, obverse

Devanāgarī and Roman renderings of Pl. XXIII.

37. जयति महीतलं । P. 276
Jayati mahītalaṁ.

38. महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तः । P. 302
Mahārājādhirājaśrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.

39. देवो जितशत्रुः कुमारगुप्तोधिराजः । P. 299
Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumāragupto'dhirājā.

40. क्षतरिपुकुमारगुप्तो राजत्राता जयति रिपून् । P. 194
KshataripuKumāragupto rājatrātā jayati ripūn.

41. विजितावनिरवनिपतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 308
Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ-śrī-Skandagupto divaṁ jayati.

42. गुणेशो[1] महीतलं । P. 168
Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ.

43. लिच्छवयः । P. 33
Lichchhavaḥ.

44. पराक्रमः । P. 48
Parākramaḥ.

45. अश्वमेधपराक्रमः । P. 67
Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.

46. समुद्रगुप्तः । P. 76
Samudraguptaḥ.

47. कृतान्तपरशुः । P. 59
Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ.

48. राजा समुद्रगुप्तः । P. 72
Rājā Samudraguptaḥ.

49. अप्रतिरथः । P. 55
Apratirathaḥ.

50. सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता । P. 88
Sarvarājochchhettā.

51. श्रीविक्रमः । Pp. 52,93, etc.
Śrīvikramaḥ.

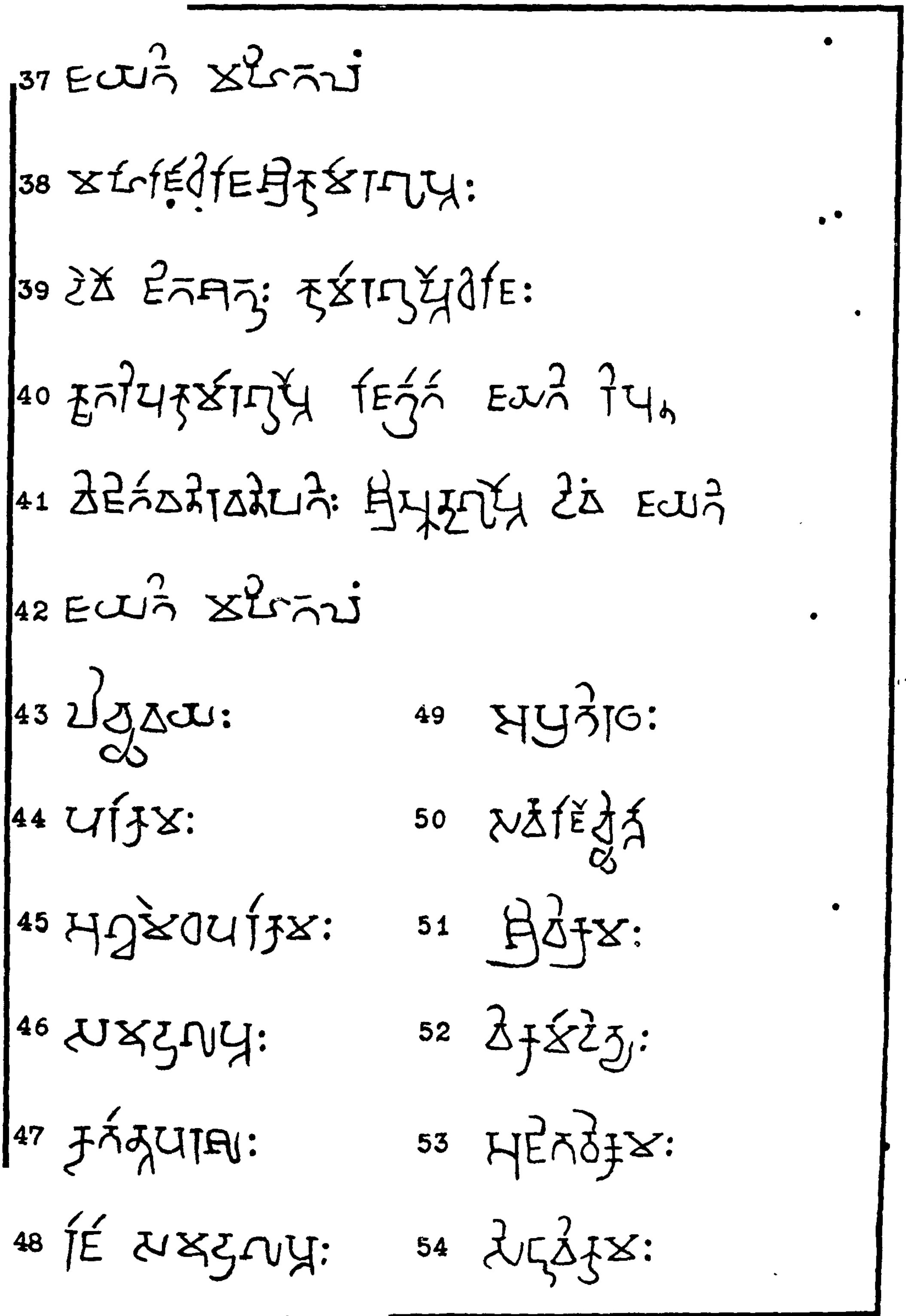
52. विक्रमादित्यः । P. 129
Vikramādityaḥ.

53. अजितविक्क्रमः । P. 123
Ajitavikkramaḥ.

54. सिंहविक्रमः । P. 110
Siṁhavikramaḥ.

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1. We regret that owing to an oversight Pl. XXIII. 42 inscribes the first word of the legend as जयति and not गुणेशः ।



37–40; Kumāragupta I: gold coins, obverse
41–42; Skandagupta; gold coins, obverse
43–54; Reverse legends

Devanāgarī and Roman renderings of Pl. XXIV.

55. चक्रविक्रमः । P. 146
Chakravikramaḥ.

56. श्रीमहेन्द्रः । P. 169
Śrīmahendraḥ.

57. अजितमहेन्द्रः । P. 178
Ajitamahendraḥ.

58. श्रीमहेन्द्रसिंह । P. 189
Śrīmahendrasiṁhaḥ.

59. सिंहमहेन्द्रः । P. 188
Siṁhamahendraḥ.

60. श्रीमहेन्द्रकुमारः । P. 205
Śrīmahendrakumāraḥ.

61. श्रीकुमारगुप्तः । P. 211
Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.

62. कुमारगुप्तोधिराजः । P. 192
Kumāragupto'dhirājaḥ.

63. श्रीमहेन्द्रखड्गः । P. 198
Śrīmahendrakhaḍgaḥ.

64. श्रीमहेन्द्रादित्यः । P. 207
Śrīmahendrādityaḥ.

65. कुमारगुप्तः । P. 212
Kumāraguptaḥ.

66. श्रीअश्वमेधमहेन्द्रः । P. 201
Śrī-aśvamedhamahendraḥ.

67. श्रीमहेन्द्रगजः । P. 195
Śrīmahendragajaḥ.

68. सिंहनिहंता महेन्द्रगजः । P. 196
Siṁhanihantā
mahendragajaḥ.

69. अप्रतिघः । P. 209
Apratighaḥ.

70. क्रमादित्यः । P. 249
Kramādityaḥ.

71. च Cha गु gu
न्द्र ndra प्त pta. P. 33

72. स Sa
मु mu
द्र dra. P. 47

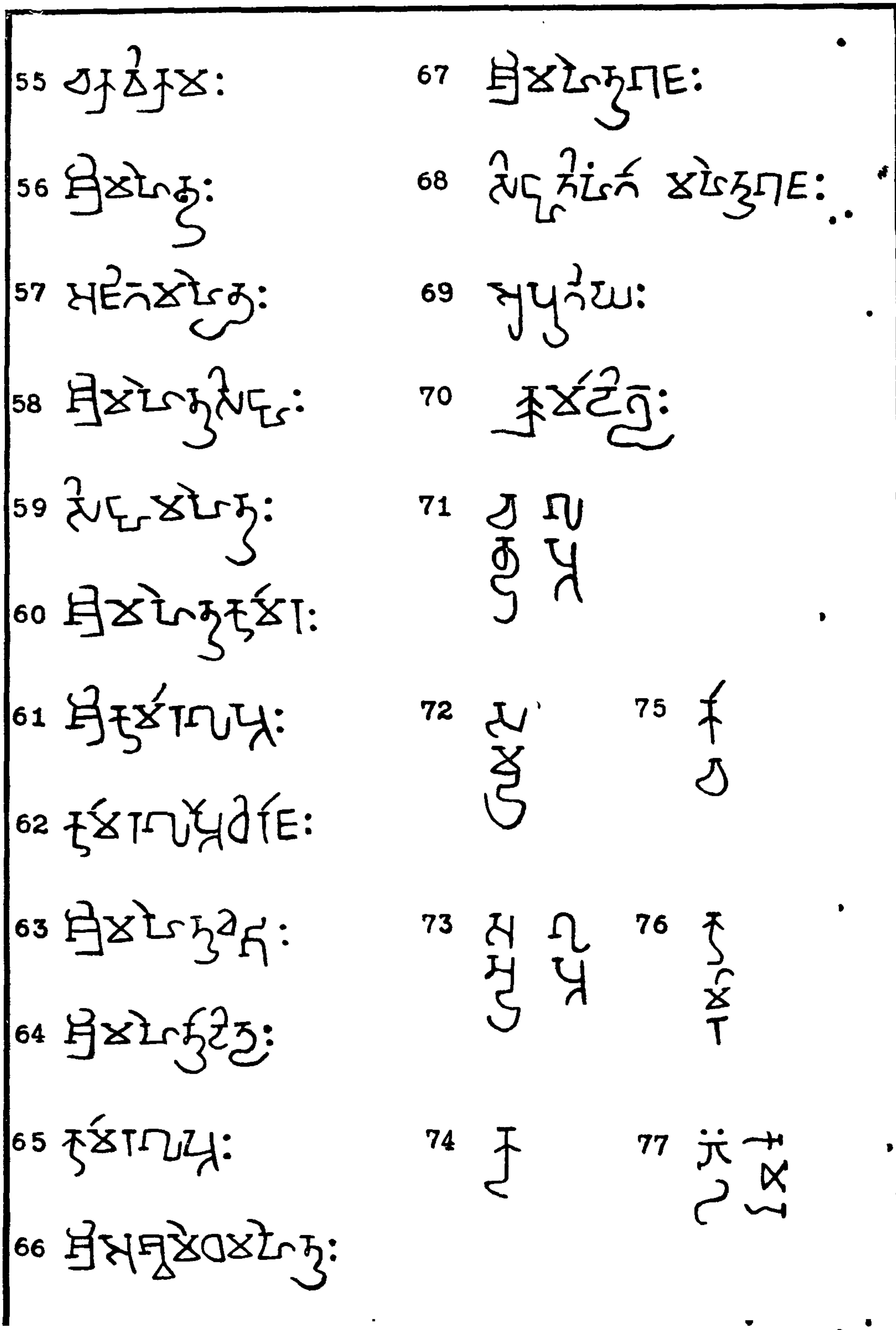
73. स Sa गु gu
मु mu प्त pta.
dra. P. 51

74. कृ Kṛi. P. 60

75. का Kā
च cha P. 62

76. कु Ku
मा mā
र ra. P. 169

77. कुमार Kumāra guptaḥ गुप्तः
P. 208



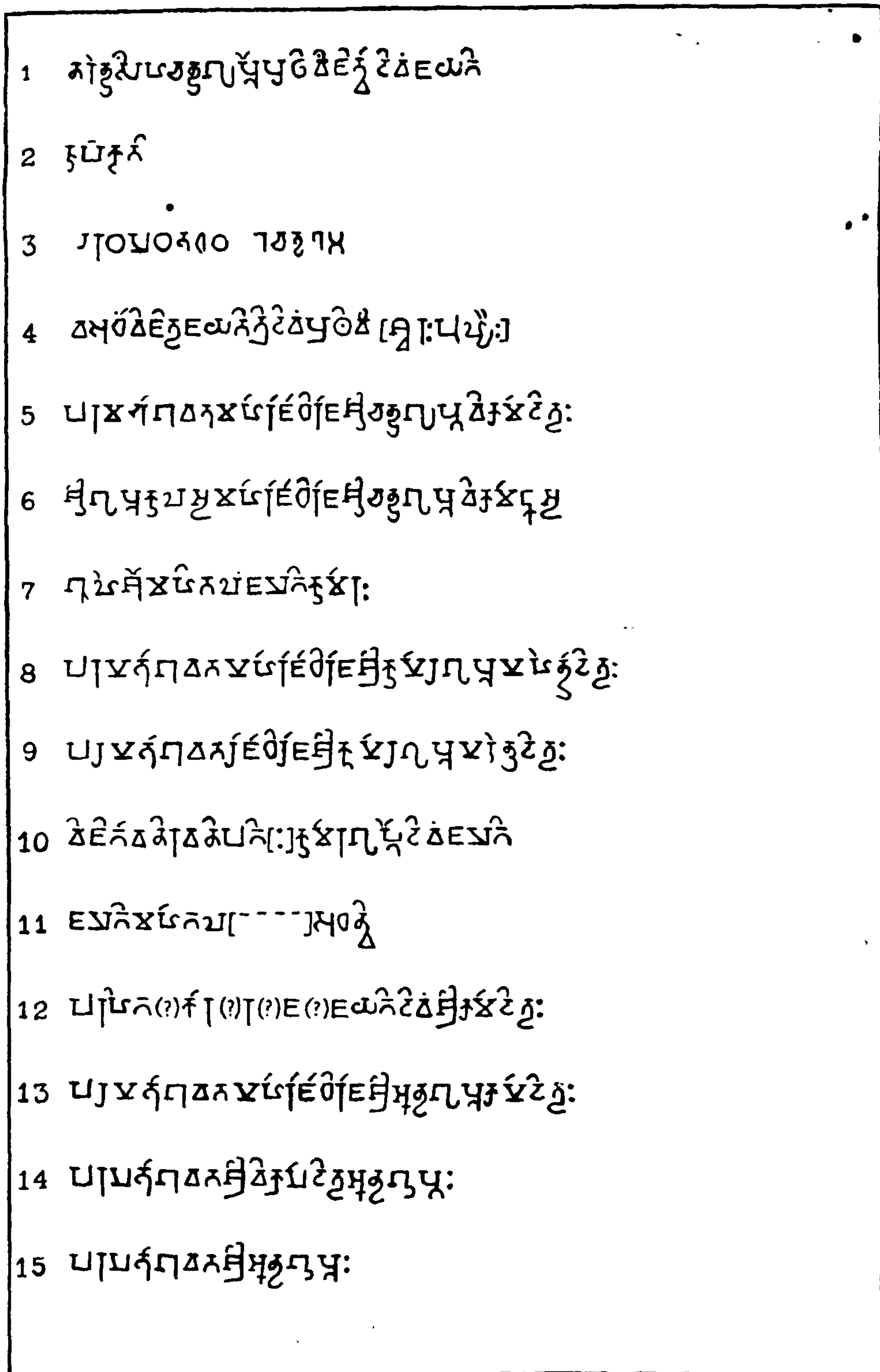
55–70; Reverse legends
71–77; Legend under arm

Devanāgarī and Roman renderings of Pl. XXV.

1. नरेन्द्रसिंहचन्द्रगुप्त: पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयति (?) P. 118
NarendrasiṁhaChandraguptaḥ prithivīṁ vijitya divaṁ jayati (?)
2. रूपाकृती । P. 136
Rūpākṛitī.
3. पर० म० भग० चन्द्रगुप्त:[1] । P. 140
Para ma. bhaga(?), Chandraguptaḥ.[1]
4. वसुधां विजित्य जयति त्रिदिवं पृथिवी[श्वर: पुण्यै:] । P. 141
Vasudhāṁ vijitya jayati tridivaṁ prithivī(śvaraḥ puṇyaiḥ)
5. परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्य: । P. 152
Paramabhāgavatamahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chadnragupta-Vikramādityaḥ.
6. श्रीगुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्यस्य । P. 152
ŚrīGuptakulasya mahārājādhirajaśrī-Chandragupta-Vikramādityasya.
7. गुणेशो महीतलं जयति कुमार: । P. 171
Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ jayati Kumāraḥ.
8. परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तमहेन्द्रादित्य: । Pp. 218-9
Paramabhāgavatamahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ.
9. परमभागवतराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तमहेन्द्रादित्य: । P. 222
ParamabhāgavatarājādhirājaśrīKumāraguptamahendrādityaḥ.
10. विजितावनिरवनिपति[:]कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 229
Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.
11. जयति महीतलं (स्कन्दगुप्त:) सुधन्वी । P. 242
Jayati mahītalaṁ (Skandaguptaḥ) sudhanvī.
12. परहितकारी (रा?)जा(?)जयति दिवं श्रीक्रमादित्य: । P. 243
Parahita(?)kārī(?) rā(?)jā(?) jayati divaṁ śrī-Kramādityaḥ.
13. परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तक्रमादित्य: । P. 251
ParamabhāgavatamahārājādhirājaśrīSkandagupta-Kramādityaḥ.
14. परमभागवतश्रीविक्रमादित्यस्कन्दगुप्त: । P. 254
Paramabhāgavataśrī-VikramādityaSkandaguptaḥ.
15. परमभागवतश्रीस्कन्दगुप्त: । P. 257
Paramabhāgavataśrī-Skandaguptaḥ.

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1. For the correct reading of this legend, see pp. 346-7.



1–4; Further legends on the gold coins of Chandragupta II
5–10; Legends on silver coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I
11–15; Legends on the coins of Skandagupta

Devanāgarī and Roman renderings of Pl. XXVI.

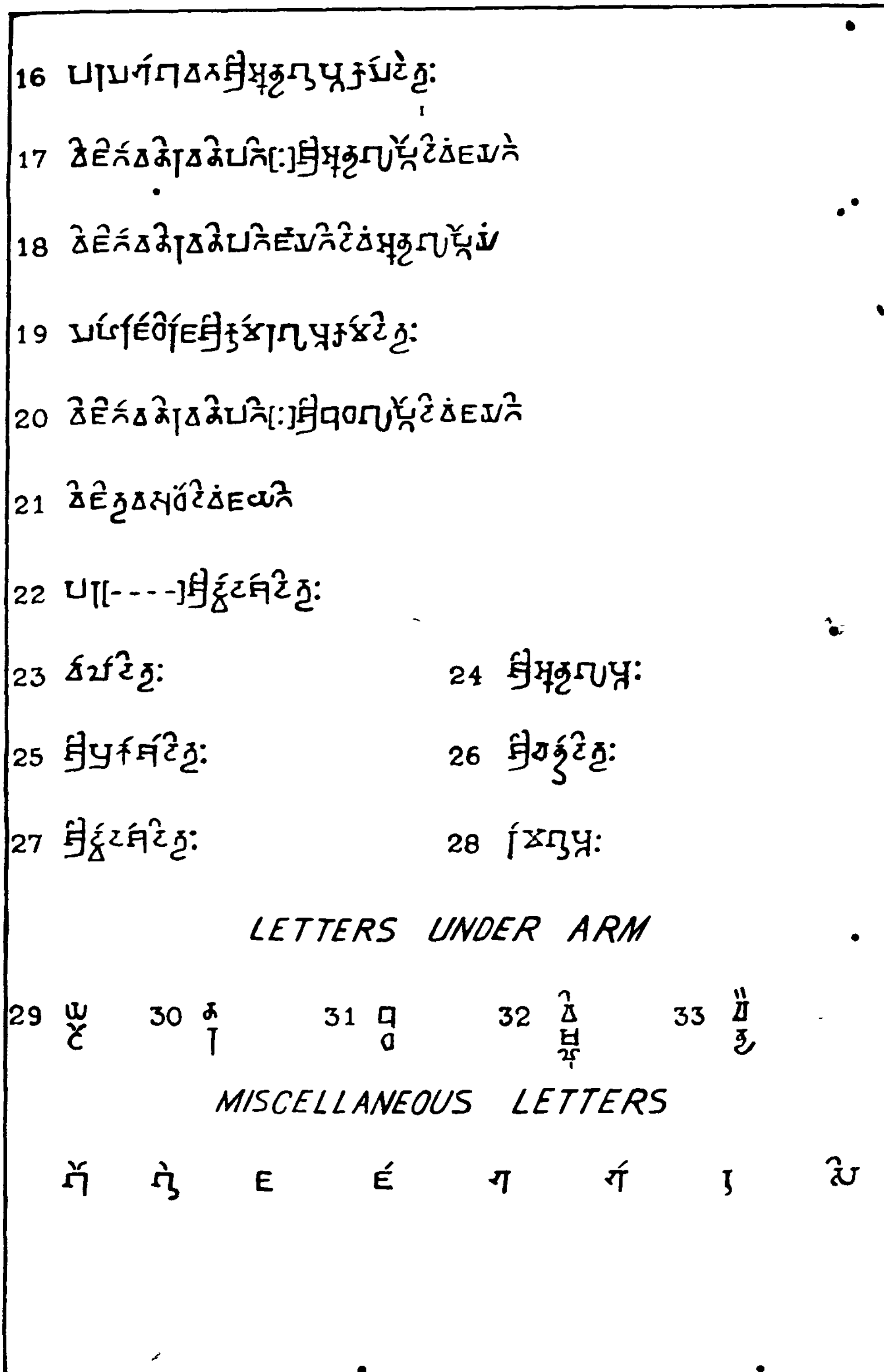
16. परमभागवतश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तक्रमादित्यः । P. 254
Paramabhāgavataśrī Skandagupta Kramādityaḥ.
17. विजितावनिरवनिपति[:]श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 257
Vijitāvaniravanipati[ḥ] śrīSkandagupto divaṁ jayati.
18. विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोऽयम् । P. 257
Vijitāvaniravanipatirjayati divaṁ Skandagupto'yaṁ.
19. महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तक्रमादित्यः । P. 273
Mahārājādhirājaśrī-KumāraguptaKramādityaḥ.
20. विजितावनिरवनिपति[:]श्रीबुधगुप्तो दिवं जयति । P. 278
Vijitāvaniravanipati[ḥ] śrī-Buddhagupto divaṁ jayati.
21. विजित्य वसुधां दिवं जयति । P. 285
Vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati.
22. पर......श्रीद्वादशादित्यः । Pp. 282; 357
Para......śrīDvādaśādityaḥ.
23. बालादित्यः । P. 271
Vālādityaḥ.
24. श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः । P. 247
ŚrīSkandaguptaḥ.
25. श्रीप्रकाशादित्यः । P. 285
ŚrīPrakāśādityaḥ.
26. श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः । P. 102
ŚrīChandraguptaḥ.
27. श्रीद्वादशादित्यः । P. 282
ŚrīDvādaśādityaḥ.
28. रामगुप्तः । P. 163
Rāmaguptaḥ.

Letters under arm.

29. घ Gha
टो ṭo
P. 264
30. न Na
र ra
P. 270
31. बु Bu
ध dha
P. 277
32. वि Vi
ष्णु shṇu
P. 281
33. वै Vai
न्य nya
P. 282

Miscellaneous letters.

गो go;	ग्रे gre;	ज ja;	जा jā;	भ bha;	भा bhā;	रु ru;	सि si
P. 274	P. 270	P. 357	P. 274	P. 357	P. 282	P. 280	P. 36

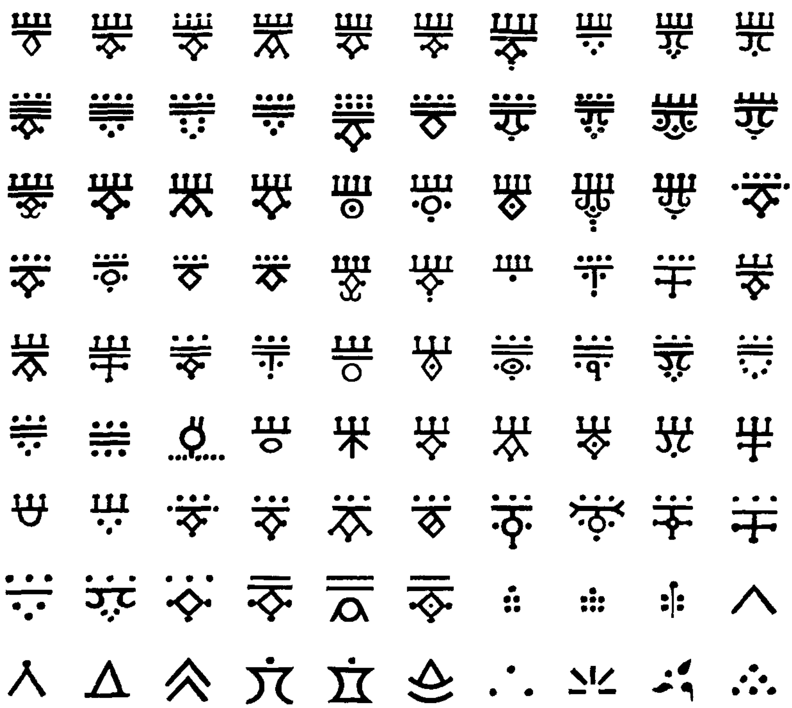


Legends and Letters on the coins of Skandagupta and his successors

PLATE XXVII

Symbols on Gupta and Kushāṇa Coins

MAIN SYMBOLS ON GUPTA COINS



SYMBOLS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

